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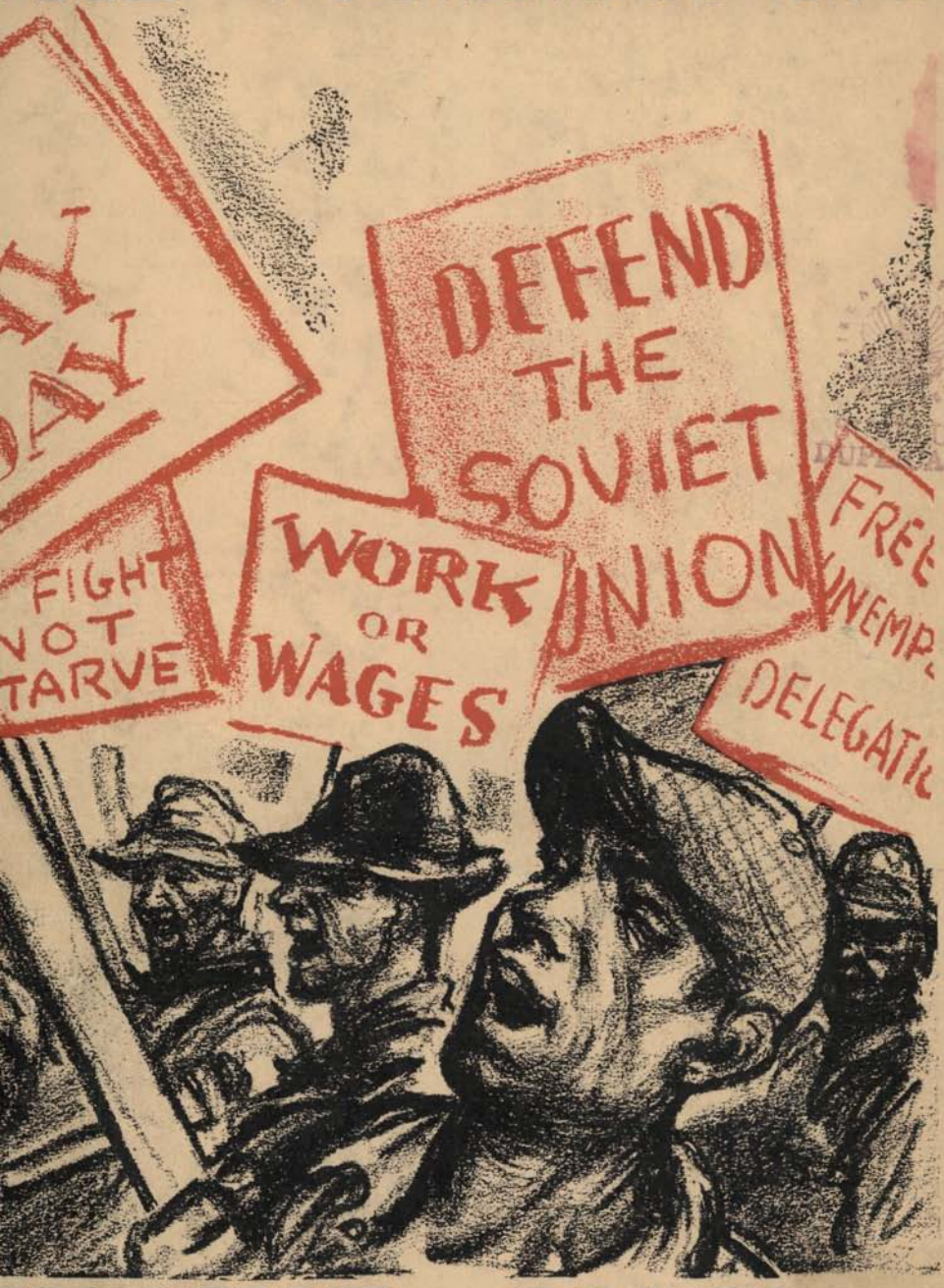
THE COMMUNIST



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"Who is that you all are going to whip, Mr. Legree?"
—By ROBERT MINOR

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Notes of the Month

MAY 1st, 1930, must carry further the heroic struggle of the American workers of March 6th. The every-day struggles of the workers for their economic demands must be given a revolutionary political character and be decisively linked up with the revolutionary program for the overthrow of capitalism. The chief central task on May Day is the *political mass strike*. This mass political action is the most forceful weapon in the hands of the workers. In 1903 Lenin wrote concerning May Day:

> "We must try to pronounce *the reply of labor on the streets*, to express our demands through demonstrations, openly demonstrate the number and strength of the workers, their consciousness and determination."

The Social Democrats of the past always tried to rob May Day of its revolutionary political character and give it the color of a bourgeois festival. The Leninist way is to make May Day a day of struggle against capitalism, a day of international working-class solidarity, a day of struggle against imperialist war and capitalist militarism. In 1930 particularly does May Day acquire special significance for the American workers. The United States, the country of "unlimited prosperity," when capitalism was considered as "crisis proof," and exempt from the general contradictions of capitalism, is now living through a serious cyclical economic crisis which in the present period of capitalism will still further undermine and shatter the very foundation of capitalism. The illusion of capitalist prosperity evaporated. The factors that brought and still further aggravate the crisis of capitalism stand out naked before the eyes of even the most backward members of our class.

The economic crisis and the growing resistance of the American workers completely smashed the myth of American "high wages," of the "contented" American working class. The class collaboration theories and the American methods of speed-up and rationalization that inspired the entire capitalist world and social fascism, are crumbling under the very weight of the misery, starvation and unemployment of millions of men and women.

Like in the past, American capitalism today is putting the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the workers. The present capitalist offensive is directed not only against the unemployed, but also against the employed. The permanent army of unemployed is th weapon the capitalists use to lower the standard of living of the entire American working class.

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May 1st, in line with its historical traditions, will demonstrate the solidarity and the unity of the working class in the struggle against their common enemy. It will be the day of united action of the employed and unemployed for their economic demands. This struggle, however, must assume a political revolutionary character if it is to be successful. *The successful political mass strike is therefore our goal.*

The American bourgeoisie, seeing that May Day is no longer a Sunday afternoon or evening concert, but a day of revolutionary struggle, is becoming quite uneasy. Particularly does the bourgeoisie resent the policy of the Communist Party of drawing political conclusions from the present crisis and its consequences for the American workers. The bourgeoisie, therefore, took the course of terror and fascist attack upon the workers and the revolutionary working-class organizations.

If the May Day demonstrations are an expression of "consciousness and determination of the working class" as Lenin understood it, then we must say that the Right wing renegade group of Lovestone and Gitlow long ago lost its revolutionary consciousness and as far as their determination is concerned, they openly capitulated to the bourgeoisie and betrayed the interests of the working class. In May, 1929, Lovestone and the international right wing termed our May Day demonstrations as a "putch" and joined with the social fascists in their attack on the Party. In a statement to the *New York Evening Post* of April 12, Gitlow said: "We must force the Party leadership to retreat from its false position." And this false position is the right of the workers to use the streets for demonstrations, the fight against police terror. The political basis of such treachery one can only understand if one takes into consideration the fact that Gitlow and Lovestone in the No. 11 issue of "The Revolutionary Age" condemned the Party for raising the slogan of "Fight for the establishment of a revolutionary workers' government."

* * * *

THE magic sixty days during which President Hoover promised to solve the economic crisis and the growing unemployment are coming to a close. No class-conscious worker took President Hoover's word seriously. Not even the capitalist class believes that Hoover can remedy the present crisis. The Forbes Magazine writes:

> "President Hoover's 'emergency measures' have not amounted to much in concrete results in so far as can be judged."

The Annalist is much against the underestimation of the economic crisis and its effects. It stated on April 11th:

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"Nothing could be gained by loose exaggeration."

What changes took place in the economic situation for the last month? The facts and figures from capitalist sources definitely show production declining, the crisis is becoming deeper and even as the bourgeoisie itself admits, the results of the first quarter of this year are disappointing. The Brookmire Financial Review states:

"There is no immediate prospect of improvement of such character as to lead to any immediate recovery in business."

If one is to take the basic indicators of industrial activity he will find: that pig iron production declined from an index of 96 in February, to 95 in March; steel production from 99 in Ferbuary to 91 in March; freight car loading from 92 in February to 88 in March; electric power production from 95 in February to 94 in March; bituminous coal production from 84 in February to 78 in March. The Annalist Index of Business activity shows a further decline to 89.4 compared with 92.4 in February. This is even lower than the month of December of last year, which was the worst month in business activity in 1929. The automobile industry is still producing 246,000 cars less than during the same month of last year. Looking at the basic industries we see a still further decline in industrial production during the month of March. At the same time, however, we must remember that the month of March shows always in "normal" periods large increase in production in basic industries. Last year, instead of the present decrease of 2.7 per cent in the daily steel ingot production, there was a normal seasonal increase of 5.1 per cent. A similar situation is being manifested in car loading which is the most sensitive barometer of business conditions. In view of this, the Annalist of April 11th had to say:

"Car loadings represent roughly the value of goods distribution and thereby in pretty close sense the volume of activity of business. Steel ingot production represents business plans for the future. When both are negative as now, their meaning for the immediate future is tolerably inescapable."

In addition to the above we must also state the fact that business failures totalled 2,347 for the month of March—the largest in any month for the first quarter of the year since 1922. Bank failures during the first three months of 1930 reached a total of 124, compared with 109 during the same months of 1928. Sales during the month of March of 532 stores as reported by the Federal Reserve

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System, are 12 per cent smaller than in the corresponding month of a year ago. The sum total of all these facts shows that not only will the economic crisis not be overcome in sixty days, but on the contrary, the economic crisis sharpens and deepens.

The unemployment situation is becoming worse. According to the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, we see a further decline of employment in the manufacturing industries during the month of March 1 per cent below the previous month and a decline in payrolls during the same period of 12 per cent. Employment in 12,758 manufacturing establishments in March, when compared with a year ago, shows a decline of 8.9 per cent and the decline in payrolls during the same period totals 12.6 per cent. The above figures speak for themselves. They definitely refute the deceit of the Hoover administration of being able to solve the economic crisis in 60 days. These sixty days will soon be over, but the crisis, the unemployment and the misery of the workers will not.

* * * *

SHARPENING of the economic crisis which is affecting in various degrees every capitalist country and the colonies, is further widening the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The results of the London Conference definitely prove that these antagonisms could not be overcome by peaceful means and the inevitability of war. However, what concretely are the results of the London Conference? How much disarmament and peace did the London Conference bring? Why only a Three-Power agreement? The answer to these questions is simple. The imperialist antagonisms that were so openly exhibited in London could not be reconciled to that extent as to permit a Five-Power treaty. The outcome of the "disarmament" conference, however, had great political consequences for the Labor government as well as for the Hoover administration. The pacifist illusions of MacDonald, the promises of peace and disarmament, received a serious blow. The masses see clearly the impossibility of disarmament and peace under capitalism. To perpetuate these pacifist illusions, to save their faces, to have some achievements to its credit, on the basis of which the Labor Party could again ask for the support of the workers, MacDonald had to have some kind of a treaty. The same situation also applies to the American delegation and to the Hoover administration. The Congressional and State elections are approaching, the economic crisis and its consequences destroyed the myth of "unlimited prosperity" and high wages. The Republican Party will therefore also attempt

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to use the Three-Power agreement as an achievement to its credit on the basis of which it will ask for mass support.

As to the extent of the disarmament that was achieved in London. The United States will disarm and contribute to world peace by adding 135,000 tons of destroyers; 160,000 tons of cruisers of 10,000 tons each; 70,000 tons of light cruisers; 30,000 tons of submarines, and 9,000 of aircraft. The total expenditure for this naval program amounts to over one billion dollars. An equal proportional increase will also take place in the naval programs of the other countries. It is true the three powers will do some "scrapping." The United States, for example, announced that it will destroy over 200,000 tons of its naval craft, as its contributions towards "disarmament." However, the ships the U.S. was ready to scrap, were scrapped already a long time ago by the mere operation of the age limit. Conference or no conference, these ships were put on the inactive list by the American Navy. The London Conference agreed to destroy the obsolete craft in order to build more efficient war ships in line with the newly developed technique. As one bourgeois correspondent, Frank H. Simonds, remarked:

> "The London Conference is going to result in an adjustment of the fleets of the great sea powers, in accordance with the necessities of the next war."

For the working class it is also necessary to take cognizance of the fact that the largest naval building programs and preparations for war are taking place upon the initiative of the "Socialist" labor government. What British imperialism could not accomplish directly with its own efforts, is now being carried through by the fascist labor government.

* * * *

WHILE the antagonisms between the imperialist powers are growing, the war preparations against the Soviet Union are assuming ever wider dimensions. Polish fascism is definitely preparing its war plan against the USSR. Simultaneously with its religious crusade, it began to spread the propaganda of "thousands of Russian peasants crossing the border into Poland." On the basis of this, the Polish fascist press undertook a campaign of financial support for these "peasants." The French admiralty sent its representatives to Rumania to help in the construction of a naval base in the Black Sea. In the United States the war preparations against the Soviet Union definitely became the main task of American capitalism. The Kellogg Peace Pact as an instrument for war mobilization is now being perfected. President Hoover in his speech at the

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convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution, openly sounded the keynote that more effective measures had to be used in the mobilization of war sentiment against the USSR. The defeat of the American war plans at the time of the Russian-Chinese conflict and the splendid resistance of the masses against the attack of imperialism, forced imperialism to reconsider its plan.

> "The difficulties in instance of the Chinese-Russian dispute show the clear need of some method of mobilization of public opinion against the violation of the Kellogg Pact." (Hoover).

As demonstrated at the London Conference, the Kellogg Pact has no value in preventing a war between the imperialist powers, but it is an instrument of war to be used against the USSR. The growing attack on the revolutionary labor movement in the United States is a part of the general war preparations of American capitalism. The U.S. knows that so long as there will exist and grow the Communist Party in this country, its war plans will be resisted by the American workers mobilized and led by the Communist Party.

* * * * *

THE revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses is also definitely being shown in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The revolt against American imperialism received special impetus. The revolt in Porto Rico, Haiti and the movement in the Philippines forced American imperialism to tighten its imperialist rule in these islands. The Haitian commission, appointed by President Hoover cannot conceal the developing revolutionary movement in Haiti, nor can it whitewash the "fire and sword" rule of the American marines. The report and recommendations of President Hoover's Haitian commission are not surprising. Its very composition foretold the nature of its report and recommendations. While it speaks of the recall of General Russell, it completely endorses and "praises the accomplishments of American occupation." The list of recommendations of the Commission definitely perpetuate the rule of Yankee imperialism in Haiti. In line with its traditional American imperialist policy, it bribed and made an alliance with the native bourgeoisie to exploit the peasants and workers. It corrupted a certain strata of the native plunderers to serve as puppets of American imperialism. The United States definitely stated that it will not recognize any other provisional president but Roy. The New York Times, in an editorial of April 18th, already informed that "Rejection (of American proposals—L. P.) could only make matters worse than they are." The commission definitely opposed the liquidation of the American occupation and to further consolidated American rule, it proposes that "each administrative department of

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the Haitian Government is to employ an American advisor." The tightening of the grip of American imperialism in Haiti will not and cannot stop the rapid development of the revolutionary movement in the Carribean. The successful general strike in Cuba on March 20th and the preparation for May 1st will only further stimulate the revolutionary movement and mobilize wider masses for struggle against American imperialism.

Of special importance in the struggle of the colonial people against world imperialism is the present situation in India. Gandhi and the native bourgeoisie which began its wrangling for more concessions from British imperialism is being brushed aside by the genuine mass resistance of the oppressed Indian masses. From fake passive resistance of Gandhi, which is an attempt to disclaim responsibility for the revolutionary action of the masses, the workers and the poor peasants entered into an open militant struggle with the mercenary troops of British imperialism and the native feudal lords. No doubt the bourgeoisie, after the British will grant them some more concessions, will again betray the masses, but the masses will continue their fight. The acrobatic trickery of Gandhi and the National Congress will only further expose their treachery before the masses. The present struggle definitely shows the readiness of the masses to fight, their determination to free themselves from the rule of British imperialism. This struggle will also teach them that only the proletarian revolution can solve their problems, that only the Communist International can provide them with leadership.

The present situation in India also exposes the social fascist and imperialist role of the Second International. When questioned in the House of Commons concerning the situation in India, the Socialist secretary of State for India, Wedgwood Ben, stated: "They have full confidence in the government of Lord Irwin in India." The "lefts" of the Labor Party again began to shout phrases of carrying out the election "pledges" of the Labor Government concerning India, which only means the perpetuation of the rule of imperialism in India. The industrialist policy of the Labor Party was especially clearly stated by Commander J. M. Kenworthy, who said in the House of Commons on April 17th:

> "The House was bound to support the Indian Government in taking proper steps to preserve order... the impression ought not to go out that Labor members felt the Indian Government was not to be trusted."

The Labor Party has full confidence in the Indian Government. This Indian Government that is shooting down workers and peasants, that keeps workers in jail, that breaks strikes. The Socialist

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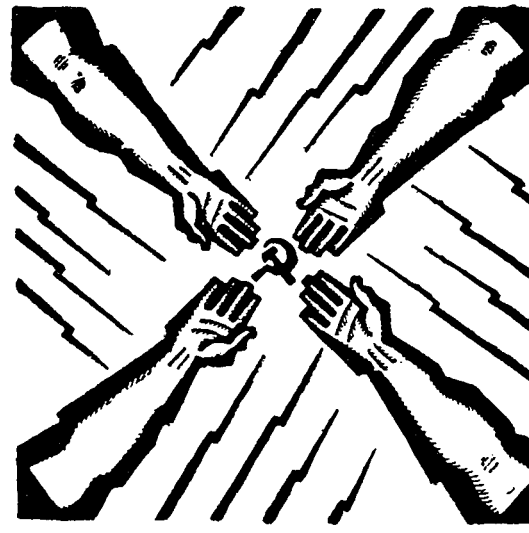
Party of the U. S., while giving lip service to American atrocities in Nicaragua, fully endorses the policy of the Labor Government in India. The Socialist Party probably regrets that it itself cannot be the instrument of American imperialism in Nicaragua, as are its English brethren. The Dutch Socialists at their recent congress rejected the proposals of giving any support to the revolutionary movement in the Dutch East Indies, and gave their endorsement of the policies of Dutch imperialism.



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May First 1930

By C. A. HATHAWAY

ORIGINATING in the United States during the workers' struggle for the 8-hour day, *May First* has become an international day of strikes and demonstrations against militarism and war, for the shorter work day, for the workers' demands generally, and for revolutionary working class unity in the struggle against capitalism.

The workers of the United States, the originators of May Day as a day of struggle, the exponants of the mass political strike as a weapon, have many heroic struggles to their credit. In recent years, however, they have lagged somewhat behind the world labor movement, due to the dominating influence of the highly paid labor aristocracy in the organized labor movement and to the poisonous class collaboration policies of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party leaders. The first Monday in September was accepted as a symbol of class peace from the bosses' government and used to nullify both May 1st and the class struggle. Only on too rare occasions, following their brilliant beginning in the 8-hour fight, have the American workers thrown off the deadening weight of the official leadership and demonstrated their class power on May First. On those rare occasions they have put up splendid battles, as for example the demonstration of the Cleveland workers led by Comrade Ruthenberg in 1919.

A far-reaching and deep-going change, however, has taken place among the workers in the United States which gives the May First demonstrations this year tremendous significance. We are entering into a period of struggle now which will equal and probably greatly surpass any traditional struggles of the American workers.

The much heralded "permanent prosperity" of American capitalism has collapsed. The country is in the throes of an economic crisis. Over seven million are jobless. Actual starvation is everywhere rampant. Rationalization in the shops and factories is being intensified at a brutal tempo. Wages are being cut. Hours are being lengthened. The bosses are attempting to force the workers to bear the burden of the crisis.

The workers have already replied to this offensive of the bosses with numerous strikes and demonstrations, only to be met by a

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strike-breaking, fascist united front of the bosses, the government, the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party bureaucracy, the American Legion, etc. The workers' struggles have been brutally and bloodily crushed. Several workers have already been killed; hundreds have been viciously clubbed and beaten. But still the workers' counter-offensive continues to gain strength and momentum.

The struggles take on a political character. Starting with demands for "Work or Wages," for social insurance, or for the 7-hour day, 5-day week, the workers find themselves in struggle against the bosses' state. They find the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party fighting on the side of the bosses in alliance with the police. The workers more and more are becoming disillusioned; more clearly they understand the role of the State. They are breaking away from and fighting against the so-called "labor" organizations which serve only the bosses. They are accepting the leadership of and joining the Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade Union Unity League.

The demonstrations on March 6, in which a million and a quarter workers rallied in the streets and fought under our slogans and leadership is the most outstanding example of the new spirit rising among the American workers. These demonstrations, which were really national in scope, will themselves prove to be further factors in deepening the workers' revolutionary determination and will to struggle. The fighting spirit of "86" is returning; the traditions of the 8-hour fight will be fully reclaimed by the American workers on May First, 1930. And in the present struggles, new fighting traditions will be established.

This sharp turn—this revolutionary upsurge on the part of the American workers comes primarily as a result of the development and constant deepening of the economic crisis in the United States and from the efforts of the bosses to place the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the workers.

The continuous increase in the productive capacity of American industries since the war and the actual surplus production already reached as early as May last year, on the one hand, and the continuous shrinking of the internal market, due to the agricultural crisis, to the large increase in the permanent army of the unemployed resulting from rationalization, to the constantly decreased buying power of the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled, etc. on the other hand, in a period when the possibility of securing foreign and colonial markets for American goods is sharply limited by all the contradictions and antagonisms within and between the various capitalist countries, is the primary cause for the development of the economic crisis. The various "solutions" for the crisis put

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forward by the Hoover administration have so far failed to "solve" the crisis. The propaganda statements about "returning prosperity" are regularly exposed as lies to deceive the masses and to increase the opportunities for the big capitalists to fleece the smaller ones.

The "Annalist" index of business activity shows a continuous, though irregular decline for the first three months of this year, contrary to Hoover's promised business revival.

Because of America's dominant position in the capitalist world (as banker and industrialist, as well as principal consumer of the products of many colonial countries), the economic crisis in the United States sharpens immeasurably all the contradictions of world capitalism in the present period, while at the same time the economic crisis itself spreads throughout the capitalist world effecting each country in varying forms and at varying tempo. In a number of countries (Germany, Japan, China and the colonies) an economic crisis is already maturing. In other countries (England and France) chronic depression is being accentuated or the first symptoms of the crisis are beginning to appear.

The spreading of the economic crisis thruout the capitalist world augments the permanent army of unemployed in all countries by millions which, together with rationalization and wage cuts still further impoverishes the toiling masses and also large sections of the agrarian population and even sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, thereby still further narrowing the market possibilities and sharpening the struggle between the imperialists for control and domination of the existing world markets.

American capitalism is therefore in the position today where it can and does produce more goods than can be consumed in its own internal market. The surplus production can not be marketed in the colonies or in other countries because the markets which it already controls are also too limited and the others are already "firmly" controlled by America's imperialist rivals. The development of the crisis still further narrows what markets are available.

This, simply put, is the chief problem confronting the financiers and industrialists of the United States. The "solution" of this problem for American imperialism, which by the way, would only intensify the problem for the other capitalist countries and sharpen the imperialist antagonisms, can only be achieved by a combination of three principle methods (supplemented by tariffs, etc.) all of which are now being vigorously carried out with the aid of the Hoover regime.

The first method is an offensive directly against the workers with the objective of lowering greatly production costs, thus increasing

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America's competitive power in the market at the expense of the workers and of destroying the workers resistance to the imperialist offensive as a whole. The throwing of thousands of workers out of the factories, mills and mines to join the permanent army of unemployed which is used as a club to force the workers still employed to accept the speed-up, wage cuts and longer hours; the introduction of new and faster machinery, the brutal intensification of the speed-up, wage cuts and longer hours; the utilization of reformist labor organizations (A. F. of L., S. P., Musteites, etc.) as tools to force or befuddle the workers into accepting this worsening of their conditions; the attacks against and efforts to crush the revolutionary organizations of the workers; and the use of fascist police terror to crush strikes and demonstrations, to destroy all workers' resistance, all these are the principle forms of the bosses' offensive now being vigorously carried thru. Gastonia, the Southern Illinois coalfields, the March 6 events are outstanding examples of the *new* and sharper methods of the bosses in this period.

The second method is an offensive against the colonial peoples with the objective of securing political domination in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, guaranteed sources of cheaper raw materials, fields for the investment of surplus capital with superprofits, and markets for American goods to the exclusion of the goods of other countries. The crushing of the recent revolts in Haiti and the open naming of a new president by Hoover satisfactory to Wall Street; the Wall Street manufactured revolt in Santo Domingo; the political domination of the present governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, Mexico and other South American countries; the ruthless cutting of wages on American owned plantations in these countries; the control exercised by American banks over their economic life; etc., etc., are all examples of increased aggressiveness on the part of American imperialism in the colonial world in an effort to solve the economic crisis and secure permanently America's position in these countries.

The third method is that of imperialist war. America's rise to power took place after other imperialist powers, notably England, had already secured economic and political domination over large sections of the world, over trade routes, sources of raw material, etc. Expanding American imperialism to continue to expand must wrest this control from these powers—must secure a re-division of the world. As Wall Street puts more and more money in European and colonial investments and to an increasing extent thereby attempts to dominate the financial policies of these countries, as American industrialists open up branch plants and unload more and more products into these countries, and as the deepening economic crisis

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in the United States makes a still more aggressive policy of foreign expansion necessary (as Owen D. Young put it, "the economic integration of the wrold"), the imperialist antagonisms leading to great increases in armaments and war are sharply increased. The London Naval Conference shows clearly the depth of these antagonisms and the closeness of war. After over three months of negotiation the only agreement reached is that armaments must be still further increased. America will now spend over a billion dollars for new cruisers and auxiliary craft. With the spreading and deepening of the world economic crisis these imperialist antagonisms will be still further sharpened. Another imperialist war is clearly on the order of the day.

In the forefront is the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union. The great need of the imperialists for markets, on one hand, and the great progress being made in the carrying thru of the 5-year plan, in the industrialization of the country and in the collectivization of agriculture, inspiring the toiling masses of both the imperialist and colonial countries to sharper and more determined struggles, makes the Soviet Union a special point of capitalist hatred.

So, arising from the general contradictions of capitalism, now accentuated by economic crisis and the need of America for greater expansion in a capitalist world already "closed" to expansion, the American bourgeoisie and their government, fully supported on all fronts by the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party leadership, are waging an offensive against the workers, against the colonial peoples and against their imperialist rivals which must lead to still sharper class struggles in the United States and to an imperialist war in which the workers will also be the victors. In all events, the American, as well as the world bourgeoisie, in the last resort are expecting the toiling masses both of the imperialist countries and the colonies to be the sufferers in any and all "solutions" which they bring forth to overcome the shaky, tottering capitalist "stabilization."

The "permanent prosperity," the "golden era," etc. of American imperialism, theories so militantly defended by the renegades Lovestone and Pepper, has passed. We are at the beginning of an era of sharp class battles. The strikes in mining, textile, shoe, auto and many other industries; the big demonstrations which have been held during the past few months, and especially the March 6 demonstrations are signs of the changing times—of determination of the American workers to resist the bosses attack. The significant feature is that to an increasing extent these fights are taking place among the unorganized, the unskilled and semi-skilled, independent

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of and against the A. F. of L. and to an increasing extent also against the government.

All this gives opportunities to our Party which we must energetically grasp. The struggle against unemployment, demands for "work or wages," for social insurance, for the 7-hour day, 5-day week; against rationalization, against the vicious speed-up, for regular rest periods, against wage cuts and for higher wages; against the lengthening of hours and for the 7-hour day, must be kept in the foreground—made the starting point and at the present time receive the greatest emphasis in our campaigns. Closely linked with these demands, and brought forward in every struggle, must be the broader political slogans: Complete equality for the Negroes, against lynching and Jim Crowism; against the fascist terror of the government, the workers' right to the streets, the right of workers' self-defense, the release of class war prisoners; support for the struggle of the colonial masses, colonial independence; against imperialist war, the defeat and overthrow of "our own" bourgeoisie; the turning of imperialist war into civil war; the defense of the Soviet Union; for the overthrow of capitalism, for the proletarian revolution, for the proletarian dictatorship.

Our Party, because of its militant fighting leadership in the growing struggles of the workers, has won great mass influence. It is on the road to becoming a mass Party. But the increase in our influence is much greater than our direct organizational strength, and the strenght which we are able to mobilize organizationally thru other workers' organizations (Trade Union Unity eague, Workers International Relief, International Labor Defense, etc.). Because of the rapid tempo with which mass struggles are developing and the character of the period which insures the maturing of this struggle over a considerable period of time, the task of overcoming this disparity between our growing political influence and our lagging organizational abilities becomes a major political problem.

In carrying thru the preparations for May First (and after) the greatest attention must be given to strengthening the Party organizationally, and to setting up wide united fronts from below thru special committees, in the factories and thru existing workers' organizations. The factory work of the Party, the building of shop nuclei, putting out of shop papers, the holding of shop conferences must occupy first place and linked up directly with this must go the building of the T.U.U.L. and the revolutionary unions.

There are already many indications of extreme fascist terror on May First. In New York, prohibition of the demonstration has been announced. In Chicago, a new set of arrests have been started. But the masses are ready to respond to our slogans and fight for their

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demands in the streets on May First. The new fighting spirit of the masses, already taking the form of a counter-offensive, is clearly shown. By exerting our maximum efforts in the organizational phase of the preparatory work monster demonstrations will be held May 1 which will equal all the traditional struggles of the workers on May First and give the workers a great impetus on the road to the revolutionary struggle for power in the United States.

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May First—The Traditional Day of Proletarian Political Action

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

LAST year the international revolutionary working class celebrated the fortieth anniversary of May First as a day of international political action, a day of mobilization and demonstration of the forces of Labor arrayed against the forces of Capital in the struggle for the conquest of Power.

EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT STARTED IN AMERICA

Although the 8-hour movement, which gave birth to May Day, was initiated in 1884, a generation before a national labor organization, which at first gave great promise of developing into a militant organizing center of the American working class, took up the question of a shorter workday and proposed to organize a broad movement in its behalf. The first years of the Civil War, 1861-1862, saw the disappearance of the few national trade unions which had been formed just before the war began, especially the Molders' Union and the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union. The years immediately following, however, witnessed the unification on a national scale of a number of local labor organizations, and the urge for a national federation of all these unions became apparent. On August 20, 1866, there gathered in Baltimore delegates of three scores of trade unions who formed the National Labor Union. The movement for the national organization was led by William H. Sylvis, the leader of the reconstructed Molders' Union, who, although a young man, was the outstanding figure in the labor movement of those years. Sylvis was in correspondence with the leaders of the First International in London and helped to influence the National Labor Union to establish relations with the General Council of the International.

It was at the founding convention of the National Labor Union in 1866 that the following resolution was passed dealing with the shorter workday:

> "The first and great necessity of the present, to free labor of this country from capitalist slavery, is the passing of a law by which 8 hours shall be the normal working day in all states in the American union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."

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The same convention voted for independent political action in connection with the securing of the legal enactment of the 8-hour day and the "election of men pledged to sustain and represent the interests of the industrial classes."

Sylvis continued to keep in touch with the International in London. Due to his influence as president of the organization, the National Labor Union voted at its convention in 1867 to co-operate with the international working-class movement and in 1869 it voted to accept the invitation of the General Council and send a delegate to the Basle Congress of the International. Unfortunately Sylvis died just before the N. L. U. convention, and the delegate sent was A. C. Cameron, the editor of the "Workingmen's Advocate," published in Chicago. In a special resolution the General Council mourned the death of this promising young American labor leader. "The eyes of all were turned upon Sylvis, who, as a general of the proletarian army, had an experience of ten years, outside of his great abilities—and Sylvis is dead." The passing of Sylvis was one of the contributing causes of the decay which soon set in and led to the disappearance of the National Labor Union.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL ADOPTS EIGHT-HOUR DAY

The decision for the 8-hour day was made by the National Labor Union in August, 1866. In September of the same year the Geneva Congress of the First International went on record for the same demand in the following words:

> "The legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvements and emancipation of the working class must prove abortive. . . . The Congress proposes 8 hours as the legal limit of the working day." (Stekloff, *The History of the First International*, p. 82.)

MARX ON THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT

In the chapter on "The Working Day" in the first volume of *Capital*, published in 1867, Marx calls attention to the inauguration of the 8-hour movement by the National Labor Union. In the passage famous especially because it contains Marx's telling reference to the community of class interests between the colored and white workers, Marx wrote:

> "In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an

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> agitation for the 8-hour day—a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Paul translation, p. 309).

Marx calls attention to how almost simultaneously, in fact within two weeks of each other, a workers' convention meeting in Baltimore voted for the 8-hour day, and an international congress meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, adopted a similar decision. "Thus on both sides of the Atlantic did the working class movement, spontaneous outgrowth of the conditions of production," endorse the same movement of the limitation of hours of labor and concretize it in the demand for the 8-hour day.

That the decision of the Geneva Congress was prompted by the American decision can be seen from the following portion of the resolution:

> "As this limitation represents the general demand of the workers of the North-American United States, the Congress transforms this demand into the general platform of the workers of the whole world."

A similar influence of the American labor movement upon an international congress and in behalf of the same cause was exerted more profoundly 23 years later.

MAY DAY BORN IN THE UNITED STATES

It was at the First Congress of the Second International, held at Paris in 1889, that May First was set aside as a day upon which the workers of the world, organized in their political parties and trade unions, were to fight for the important political demand: the 8-hour day. The Paris decision was influenced by a decision made at Chicago five years earlier by delegates of a young American labor organization—the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, later known under the abbreviated name, American Federation of Labor. At the Fourth Convention of this organization, October 7, 1884, the following resolution was passed:

> "Resolved by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May First, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout their jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

Although nothing was said in the resolution about the methods by which the Federation expected to establish the 8-hour day, it is self-evident that an organization which at that time commanded

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an adherence of not more than 50,000 members could not declare "that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work" without putting up a fight for it in the shops, mills, and mines where its members were employed, and without attempting to draw into the struggle for the 8-hour day still larger numbers of workers. The provision in the resolution that the unions affiliated to the Federation "so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution" referred to the matter of paying strike benefits to their members who were expected to strike on May First, 1886, for the 8-hour day, and would probably have to stay out long enough to need assistance from the union. As this strike action was to be national in scope and involve all the affiliated organizations, the unions, according to their by-laws, had to secure the endorsement of the strike by their members, particularly since that would involve the expenditure of funds, etc. It must be remembered that the Federation, just as the A. F. of L. today, was organized on a voluntary, federation basis, and decisions of a national convention could be binding upon affiliated unions only if those unions endorsed these decisions.

PREPARATIONS FOR MAY DAY STRIKE

Although the decade 1880-1890 was generally one of the most active in the development of American industry and the extension of the home market, the year 1884-1885 experienced a depression which was a cyclical depression following the crisis of 1873. The movement for a shorter work-day received added impetus from the unemployment which prevailed during that period, just as at the present time the demand for a 7-hour day and 5-day week is becoming a popular issue on account of the tremendous unemployment which American workers are experiencing. The Federation, organized only three years before, saw the possibility of utilizing the slogan of the 8-hour day as a rallying organization slogan among the great masses of workers who were outside of the Federation and the Knights of Labor, an older and then still growing organization. The Federation appealed to the Knights of Labor for support in the movement for the 8-hour day, realizing that only a general action involving all organized labor, could make possible favorable results.

At the convention of the Federation in 1885, the resolution about the walk-out on May First of the following year was reiterated and several national unions took action to prepare for the struggle, among them particularly the Carpenters and Cigar Makers. The agitation for the May First action for the 8-hour day showed immediate results in the growth of membership of the existing unions. The Knights of Labor grew by leaps and bounds, reaching

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the apex of its growth in 1886. It is reported that the K. of L., which was better known and was considered a fighting organization, increased its membership from 200,000 to nearly 700,000 during that period. The Federation, first to inaugurate the movement and definitely set a date for the strike for the 8-hour day also grew in numbers, and particularly in prestige among the broad masses of the workers. As the day of the strike was approaching and it was becoming evident that the leadership of the K. of L., particularly Terrence Powderly, were sabotaging the movement and even secretly advising its unions not to strike, the popularity of the Federation was still more enhanced. The rank and file of both organizations were enthusiastically preparing for the struggle. 8-hour day leagues and associations sprang up in various cities and an elevated spirit of militancy was felt throughout the labor movement, which was infecting masses of unorganized workers.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT SPREADS

The best way to learn the mood of the workers is to study the extent and seriousness of their struggles. The number of strikes during a given period is a good indicator of the fighting mood of the workers. The number of strikes during 1885 and 1886 as compared with previous years shows what spirit of militancy was animating the labor movement. Not only were the workers preparing for action on May First, 1886, but already in 1885 the number of strikes showed an appreciable increase. During the years 1881-1884 the number of strikes and lockouts averaged less than 500, and the number of workers involved averaged about 150,000 a year. The number of strikes and lockouts in 1885 increased to about 700 and the number of workers involved jumped to 250,000. In 1886 the number of strikes more than doubled over 1885, reaching as high a number as 1572, with a proportional increase in the number of workers effected, 600,000. How widespread the strike movement became in 1886 can be seen from the fact that while in 1885 there were only 2,467 establishments effected by strikes, the number of establishments involved increased to 11,562 the following year. In spite of the open sabotage of the leadership of the K. of L., it was estimated that over 500,000 workers were directly involved in strikes for the 8-hour day.

The center of the strikes was Chicago, where the strike movement was most widespread, but many other cities were involved in the struggle on May First. New York, Baltimore, Washington, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and many other cities made a good showing in the walkout. The characteristic feature of the strike movement was that the unskilled and

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unorganized workers were drawn into the struggle, and that sympathetic strikes were quite prevalent during that period. A rebellious spirit was abroad in the land, and bourgeois historians speak of the "social war" and "hatred for capital" which was manifested during these strikes, and of the enthusiasm of the rank and file which pervaded the movement. It is estimated that about half of the number of workers who struck on May First were successful, and where they did not secure the 8-hour day, they succeeded in appreciably reducing the hours of labor.

THE CHICAGO STRIKE AND HAYMARKET

The May First strike was most aggressive in Chicago, which was at that time the center of a militant left-wing labor movement. Although insufficiently clear politically on a number of problems of the labor movement, it was nevertheless a fighting movement, always ready to call the workers to action, develop their fighting spirit and set as their goal not only the immediate improvement of their living and working conditions, but the abolition of the capitalist system as well.

With the aid of the revolutionary labor groups the strike in Chicago assumed the largest proportions. An 8-hour Association was formed long in advance to prepare for the strike. The Central Labor Union, composed of the Left-wing labor unions, gave full support to the 8-hour Association, which was a united front organization, including the unions affiliated to the Federation, the K. of L., and the Socialist Labor Party. On the Sunday before May First the Central Labor Union organized a mobilization demonstration which was attended by 25,000 workers.

On May First Chicago witnessed a great outpouring of workers, who laid down tools at the call of the organized labor movement of the city. It was the most effective demonstration of class solidarity yet experienced by the labor movement itself. The importance at that time of the demand—the 8-hour day—, the extent and character of the strike gave the movement significant political meaning. This significance was deepened by the developments of the next few days. The 8-hour movement, culminating in the strike of May First, 1886, forms by itself a glorious chapter in the fighting history of the American working class. But revolutions have their counter-revolutions until the revolutionary class finally establishes its complete control. The victorious march of the Chicago workers was arrested by the then superior combined force of the employers and the capitalist state, determined to destroy the militant leaders, hoping thereby to deal a deadly blow to the entire labor movement of Chicago. The events of May 3 and 4, which led to what is

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known as the Haymarket Affair, were a direct outgrowth of the May First strike. The blood bath at Haymarket Square, the railroading to the gallows of Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel, and the imprisonment of the other militant Chicago leaders, was the counter-revolutionary answer of the Chicago bosses. It was the signal for action to the bosses all over the country. The second half of 1886 was marked by a concentrated offensive of the employers, determined to regain the position lost during the strike movement of 1885-1886.

One year after the hanging of the Chicago labor leaders, the Federation, now known as the American Federation of Labor, at its convention in St. Louis in 1888, voted to rejuvenate the movement for the 8-hour day. May First, which was already a tradition, having served two years before as the concentration point of the powerful movement of the workers based upon a political class issue, was again chosen as the day upon which to re-inaugurate the struggle for the 8-hour day. May First, 1890, was to witness a nation-wide strike for the shorter work-day. At the convention in 1889, the leaders of the A. F. of L., headed by Sam Gompers, succeeded in limiting the strike movement. It was decided that the Carpenters' Union, which was considered best prepared for the strike, should lead off with the strike, and if it proved successful, other unions were to fall in line.

MAY DAY BECOMES INTERNATIONAL

On July 14, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, there assembled in Paris leaders from organized revolutionary proletarian movements of many lands, to form once more an international organization of workers, patterned after the one formed 25 years earlier by their great teacher, Karl Marx. Those assembled at the foundation meeting of what was to become the Second International heard from the American delegates about the struggle in America for the 8-hour day during 1884-1886, and the recent rejuvenation of the movement. Inspired by the example of the American workers, the Paris Congress adopted the following resolution:

> "The Congress decides to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand of the state authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress. Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its Convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, this day is accepted for the international de-

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monstration. The workers of the various countries must organize this demonstration according to conditions prevailing in each country."

The clause in the resolution which speaks of the organization of the demonstration with regard to the objective conditions prevailing in each country gave some Parties, particularly the British movement, an opportunity to interpret the resolution as not mandatory upon all countries. Thus at the very formation of the Second International, there were Parties who looked upon it as merely a consultative body, functioning only during Congresses for the exchange of information and opinions, but not as a centralized organization, a revolutionary world proletarian party, as Marx had tried to make of the First International a generation before. When Engels wrote to his friend Sorge in 1874, before the First International was officially disbanded in America, "I think that the next International, formed after the teachings of Marx, will have become widely known during the next years, will be a purely Communist International," he did not foresee that at the very launching of the rejuvenated International there would be present reformist elements who viewed it as a voluntary federation of Socialist Parties, independent of each other and each a law unto itself.

But May Day, 1890, was celebrated in many European countries, and in the United States the Carpenters' Union and other building trades entered into a general strike for the 8-hour day. At the next Congress, in Brussels, 1891, the International reiterated the original purpose of May First, to demand the 8-hour day, but added that it must serve also as a demonstration in behalf of the demands to improve working conditions, and to insure peace among the nations. The revised resolution particularly stressed the importance of the "class character of the May First demonstrations" for the 8-hour day and the other demands which would lead to the "deepening of the class struggle." The resolution also demanded that work be stopped "wherever possible." Although the reference to strikes on May First was only conditional, the International began to enlarge upon and concretize the purposes of the demonstrations. The British Laborites again showed their opportunism by refusing to accept even the conditional proposal for a strike on May First, and together with the German Social-Democrats voted to postpone the May Day demonstration to the Sunday following May First.

ENGELS ON INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY

In his preface to the fourth German edition of the Communist Manifesto which he wrote on May 1, 1890, Engels, reviewing the history of the international proletarian organizations, calls attention to the significance of the first International May Day:

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> "As I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as One army, under One flag, and fighting One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day, established by legal enactment.... The spectacle we are now witnessing will make the capitalists and landowners of all lands realize that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united. If only Marx were with me to see it with his own eyes!" (*The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels*, edited by D. Ryazanoff, "Marxist Library," No. 3, p. 268.)

The significance of simultaneous international proletarian demonstration was appealing more and more to the imagination and revolutionary instincts of the workers throughout the world, and every year witnessed greater masses participating in the demonstrations.

The response of the workers showed itself in the following addition to the May First resolution adopted at the next Congress of the International at Zurich in 1893:

> "The demonstration on May First for the 8-hour day must serve at the same time as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to peace for all peoples, to international peace."

Although the original draft of the resolution proposed to abolish class distinctions through "social *revolution*" and not through "social change," yet the resolution definitely elevated May First to a higher political level. It was to become a demonstration of power and the will of the proletariat to challenge the existing order, in addition to the demand for the 8-hour day.

REFORMISTS ATTEMPT TO CRIPPLE MAY DAY

The reformist leaders of the various parties tried to devitalize the May First demonstrations by turning them into days of rest and recreation instead of days of struggle. This is why they always insisted on organizing the demonstrations on the Sunday nearest May First. On Sundays workers would not have to strike to stop work; they were not working anyway. To the reformist leaders May Day was only an international labor holiday, a day of pageants and games in the parks or outlying country. That the resolution of the Zurich Congress demanded that May Day should be a "demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions," *i.e.*, the demonstration of the will to fight for the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation and wage slavery, did not trouble the reformists, since they did not consider themselves bound by the decisions of international congresses. International Socialist Congresses were to them but meetings for

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international friendship and good-will, like many other congresses that used to gather from time to time in various European capitals before the war. They did everything to discourage and thwart joint international action of the proletariat, and decisions of international congresses which did not conform with their ideas remained mere paper resolutions. Twenty years later the "socialism" and "internationalism" of these reformist leaders stood exposed in all their nakedness. In 1914 the International lay shattered because from its very birth it carried within it the seeds of its own destruction—the reformist misleaders of the working class.

At the International Congress at Paris in 1900 the May Day resolution of the previous Congresses was again reiterated, and was strengthened by the statement that stoppage of work on May First would make the demonstration more effective. More and more, May Day demonstrations were becoming demonstrations of power, open street fighting with the police and military taking place in all important industrial centers. Numbers of workers participating in the demonstrations and stopping work on that day were growing. May Day was becoming more and more menacing to the ruling class. It became Red Day, which authorities in all lands looked at with foreboding when each May Day came around.

LENIN ON MAY DAY

The Russian revolutionary movement utilized May Day to great advantage. In the preface to a pamphlet, "May Days in Kharkov," published in November, 1900, Lenin wrote:

> "In another six months, the Russian workers will celebrate the first of May of the first year of the new century, and it is time we set to work to make the arrangements for organizing the celebrations in as large a number of centers as possible, and on as imposing a scale as possible, not only by the number that will take part in them, but also by their organized character, by the class-consciousness they will reveal, by the determination that will be shown to commence the irrepressible struggle for the political liberation of the Russian people, and, consequently, for a free opportunity for the class development of the proletariat and its open struggle for Socialism." (Lenin, *The Iskra Period*, Bk. I, p. 44).

It can be seen how important Lenin considered the May Day demonstrations, since he called attention to them six months ahead of time. To him May Day was a rallying point for "the irresistible struggle for the political liberation of the Russian people," for "the class development of the proletariat and its open struggle for Socialism."

Speaking of how May Day celebrations "can become great political demonstrations," Lenin asked why the Kharkov May Day

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celebration in 1900 was "an event of outstanding importance," and answered, "the mass participation of the workers in the strike, the huge mass meetings in the streets, the unfurling of red flags, the presentation of demands indicated in leaflets and the revolutionary character of these demands—eight-hour day and political liberty."

Lenin upbraids the Kharkov Party leaders for joining the demands for the 8-hour day with other minor and purely economic demands, for he does not want the political character of May Day in any way beclouded. He wrote in this preface:

> "The first of these demands (8-hour day) is the general demand put forward by the proletariat in all countries. The fact that this demand was put forward indicates that the advanced workers of Kharkov realize their solidarity with the international Socialist labor movement. But precisely for this reason a demand like this should not have been included among minor demands like better treatmet by foremen, or a ten per cent increase in wages. The demand for an eight-hour day, however, is the demand of the whole proletariat, presented, not to individual employers, but to the government as the represetative of the whole of the present-day social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole, the owners of all the means of production. (*The Iskra Period*, Bk. I, p. 47).

MAY DAY POLITICAL SLOGANS

May Days became focal points for the international revolutionary proletariat. To the original demand for the 8-hour day were added other significant slogans on which the workers were called upon to concentrate during their May Day strikes and demonstrations. These included: International Working Class Solidarity; Universal Suffrage; War Against War; Against Colonial Oppression; the Right to the Streets; Freeing of Political Prisoners; the Right to Political and Economic Organization of the Working Class; etc.

The last time the old International spoke on the question of May Day was at the Amsterdam Congress of 1907. After reviewing the various political slogans which were employed in the demonstrations and calling attention to the fact that in some countries these demonstrations were still taking place on Sundays instead of May First, the resolution concludes:

> "The International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam calls upon all Social-Democratic Party organizations and trade unions of all countries to demonstrate energetically on May First for the legal establishment of the 8-hour day, for the class demands of the proletariat, and for universal peace. The most effective way of demonstrating on May First is by stoppage of work. The Congress therefore makes it mandatory upon the proletarian organizations

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> of all countries to stop work on May First, wherever it is possible without injury to the workers."

When the massacre of the strikers in the Lena goldfields in Siberia in April, 1912, placed again the question of revolutionary proletarian action on the order of the day in Russia, it was on May Day of that year that hundreds of thousands of Russian workers stopped work and came out into the streets to challenge black reaction, holding sway since the defeat of the first Russian Revolution in 1905. Lenin wrote about this May Day:

> "The great May strike of the workers all over Russia, and the street demonstrations connected with it, the revoluitonary proclamations, the revolutionary speeches to the working masses, show clearly that Russia has once more entered the period of a rising revolutionary situation."

MAY DAY IN WAR TIME

The betrayal by the Social-patriots during the war appeared in bold relief on May Day, 1915. The German Social-Democracy called upon the workers to remain at work; the French Socialists in a special manifesto assured the authorities that they need not fear May First, and the workers were importuned to work for the defense of "their" country. The same attitude could be found among the Socialist majorities of the other warring countries. Only the Bolsheviks in Russia and the revolutionary minorities in other countries remained true to Socialism and internationalism. The voices of Lenin, Luxemburg, and Liebknecht were raised against the bacchanale of social-chauvinism. Partial strikes and open skirmishes in the streets on May Day, 1916, showed that the workers were freeing themselves from the poisonous influence of their traitorous leaders. For Lenin, as for all revolutionists, "the collapse of opportunism (the collapse of the International.—A. T.) is beneficial for the labor movement" and Lenin's call for a new International, free of the betrayers, was the order of the day.

May Day, 1917, the July Days, and finally the October Days in Russia were but stages in the development of the Russian Revolution to its fulfillment. May Day, together with other days rich in revolutionary traditions—January 22, March 18, November 7—are today legal holidays in the first workers' republic, while the 8-hour day, the original demand of May Day, has been superseded in the Soviet Union by the inauguration of the 7-hour day.

THE COMINTERN INHERITS MAY DAY TRADITIONS

The Communist International, inheritor of the best traditions of the revolutionary movement since Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, carries on the traditions of May Day, and

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the Communist Parties of the various capitalist countries call upon the workers each year to stop work on May Day, to go into the streets, to demonstrate their growing strength and international solidarity, to demand a shorter work-day—now the 7-hour day—, to demand social insurance, to fight the war danger and defend the Soviet Union, to fight against imperialism and colonial oppression, to denounce the social-fascists as part of the capitalist machine, to proclaim their determination and iron will to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a universal Soviet Republic.

A POLITICAL MASS STRIKE ON MAY DAY

Each year the struggles of May Day are lifted to a higher level, as was shown last year on May Day in Berlin, particularly in Wedding. In the United States the demonstrations of March 6th against unemployment were of tremendous political importance. May Day this year must represent a higher political stage in the development of the class struggle in America. Born in the United States in the throes of a general strike movement and in a fight for a major political demand, May Day this year must witness a mass political strike in behalf of the major class issues of the American workers enumerated above. There must be *strikes* on May Day, for stoppage of work is the very tradition of May First. The strikes must be *mass* strikes involving great numbers of workers leaving their workshops *collectively*, not as individuals. Whole industrial units must be stopped, for only such strikes are effective demonstrations of the determined will of the workers to struggle. These mass strikes must be *political*, i. e., based on major political issues affecting the whole working class.

THE FASCIZATION OF A. F. OF L. AND S. P.

Forty years ago on Union Square, New York, the leaders of the May Day demonstration spoke not only about the 8-hour day but about the abolition of the capitalist system. "While struggling for the 8-hour day we will not lose sight of the ultimate aim,—the abolition of the wage system," read the resolution presented to the striking masses assembled at Union Square on May First, 1890, after they had marched there in great columns under unfurled red banners through the working class sections of the city. May Day 1930 must live up to the best traditions of May Day 1886 and 1890 and the years following.

Forty years ago, MacGuire, head of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, spoke at Union Square on May Day and pledged the labor movement to fight not only for the 8-hour day but for the abolition of the capitalist system. Now, Hutcheson, the present head of the

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Brotherhood of Carpenters, is throwing out locals of his organization who show any progressive spirit, and hounds and expels all militant members of the union.

Forty years ago, Samuel Gompers appealed to the International Socialist Congress in Paris to help the American Federation of Labor with the strike movement inaugurated for May First, 1890, and the International came to the aid of the American workers by making this struggle an international one. Now, President Green writes to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of New York, who are preparing a counter-revolutionary demonstration on May First, pledging the support of the A. F. of L. in their fight against the Communists. Can there be a better example of the fascization of the A. F. of L. and of the corrupt leaders of the various national unions?

In 1887 the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the four Chicago militant labor leaders and sent them to the gallows for their participation in the great May Day strike in Chicago the year before. Thirty-one years later the U. S. Supreme Court convicted another militant labor leader, Eugene Debs, because he remained true to internationalism and fought the imperialist war. When Debs heard of the decision, he said: "This decision is perfectly consonant with the character of the Supreme Court as a ruling class tribunal." (*Speeches of Debs*, "Voices of Revolt," No. 9). Thus spoke a true revolutionist who knew how to evaluate the class forces in society. Now, Norman Thomas, who claims to have inherited the mantle of Debs, appeals to the Senate Judiciary Committee not to seat the Hoover appointee to the Supreme Court, Parker, because "it will be exceedingly difficult to preach (Thomas cannot forget that he is a minister of the Church.—A. T.) to our people the efficacy of political action (read: voting—A. T.) as a means to social change," and "therefore we earnestly oppose his confirmation in the name of peaceful and constructive progress by democratic methods." (*New Leader, April* 12, 1930.)

Do we need a better example of how the Socialist Party has become a part of the capitalist machine,—a social-fascist organization?

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO COMMUNISM

Writing for the May, 1923, edition of the weekly "WORKER," Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg wrote: "Every worker who is a Communist can celebrate May Day this year secure in the confidence that the movement he supports has made strides forward. The road is clear for greater achievements, that in the United States as elsewhere in the world the future belongs to Communism." (*"Voices of Revolt,"* Vol. X, p. 55.)

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The world is nearer to Communism today. We are living in a more advanced period now. Capitalism has swung downward and is progressively moving in that direction. The sharpness of its own contradictions is making its means to carry on more difficult. The workers are growing in political consciousness and are engaged in a counter-offensive which is gaining in scope and depth. The oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples are rising and challenging the rule of imperialism. In the Soviet Union the workers will review on May Day the phenomenal achievements of the building of socialism. In the capitalist countries May Day will be as always a day of struggle for the immediate political demands of the working class, with the slogans of proletarian dictatorship and a Soviet Republic kept not far in the background.

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From March Sixth to May First

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

THE wheels of history are turning fast. Clashes of forces are growing. Class division and class battle is the order of the day. Tendencies hitherto discernable only with the x-rays of Marxism, are becoming visible to the naked mass eye. *The United States is filled with revolutionary potentialities no less than any European country of the present.* This is being written by the masses of the American workers over the length and breadth of Hoover's land of "permanent prosperity" and Lovestone's land of "exceptional capitalist strength."

March 6 dealt these misconceptions a shattering blow. It proved the foolishness of all professorial "profundities" concerning the absence of classes in the United States. It removed the ground from under the feet of the "labor" theoreticians peddling with "class-collaboration." It put to ridicule the social democratic complaints over the "backwardness of the American workers." It was like a thunderstorm clearing the air.

It was more than that. March 6 with its over a million American workers demonstrating in the streets against the consequences of capitalist exploitation and against capitalist rule, was the expression of an acceleration of all social processes in this country, a maturing of all conflicts, a crystallization of all forces, a sharpening of all tendencies, an uncovering of qualities hidden under a cloak of phrases. On March 6 the workers of America, under the leadership of the Communist Party, boldly stepped to the forefront of the political stage planting themselves firmly there as the most harassing problem and compelling everybody to take sides. The period since March 6 has been only a continuation and development of this process. May First may mark a new mass achievement of a more potent and consequence laden nature.

While the present moment cannot yet be fully reviewed in all its phases, it is necessary to have in mind its chief characteristics as pointing the way and contributing to the May Day mass political action.

a) The movement of the masses is spreading. Moreover, it is assuming a more organized character. It gains momentum as it develops. The 25,000 workers who on March 16 packed the New York Coliseum to protest against the joint religious attack on the

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Soviet Union, were only one small fraction of the masses of American workers who have learned to understand the meaning of Sovietism and of the Soviet Union in their own lives. The National Preliminary Conference on Unemployment held in New York on March 29-30, with 215 delegates representing 19 industries in 49 cities and 18 states, laid down a daring program of a mass convention to be held in Chicago on July 4-5 with ten thousand delegates—a program which a year ago would have been considered a phantastic dream, which at present, however, is but one more practical step in the movement of the unemployed. The mass strike of March 20 in Cuba, which is only a dependency of the U. S., proved that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under Yankee rule, the movement is even riper than in the U. S. The May Day Conferences, held everywhere under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Unemployed Councils and conferences, are of a mass nature. Mass meetings of the unemployed continue to be held in defiance of the police and at times even under conditions of actual fight against the police (Milwaukee; meeting of 600 miners in Eldorado, Ill.; meeting of 500 steel workers in Campbell, Ohio, where no unemployed meeting had previously been held, etc.). But the most outstanding and symptomatic event in this respect is the storming of the Ford employment office in Detroit by tens of thousands of the unemployed on April 1. The world-known "haven" of proletarian "high wages," the fortress of American capitalism proudly boasting the superfluousness of unionism in face of a "benevolent" and "enlightened" owner, attacked by an infuriated mass of former slaves embittered to the utmost by the monstrous discrepancy between Ford's fortunes and their own miserable lot! Ford's plant, the target of mass violence! Police tear bombs quelling a mass upsurge against the office of their exploiter! This must be held up as the symbol of the movement of the masses between March Sixth and May First.

b) The American worker, the native, appears more and more on the scene. This process started with the South where the workers are of native stock. In the present struggles, the native loses his feeling of superiority over the foreign born, the latter losses his hostility towards the ordinarily better paid native. Unemployment is the great leveller. All are equal on the bread line. Origin, race and color dwindle to insignificance in face of police blackjacks.

The Negro worker is a native. The movement among the Negro workers, both in the South and in the North, is no more sporadic and not confined to a few select. It is becoming a solid and substantial movement of masses. Out of 215 delegates to the National Preliminary Conference on Unemployment, 47 were

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Negroes. Preparations are made for the meetings of the American Negro Labor Congress with the aim of making it a real mass organization.

c) Stimulated by the rising tide of mass revolutionary movement and in turn stimulating it, the Communist Party of the United States is becoming more consolidated organizationally and is passing to new forms of mass struggle. It is between March 6 and May 1 that the Party made the final count of its membership drive to find that the number of recruits was 6167. This would have been impossible at any other time in the history of the Party. The new membership make it possible for the Party to carry out new tasks; on the other hand, such tasks are imperative if the Party wishes to keep the newly attracted members. This was clearly understood by the Plenum of the Central Committee held March 31-April 4, a Plenum that discussed every phase of the economic and political situation with more detail and with a keener eye for practical activities than ever before. The Party is not yet a mass party in the sense of embracing scores of thousands of members, but it is already a mass party in the sense of being deeply rooted in the broad masses and leading them in the class struggle. One of the new phases of this struggle is the appearance of the unemployed delegation (Foster, Minor, Amter, Raymond and Lesten) before the Board of Estimate of New York. This is revolutionary parliamentarism for the first time practiced in the U. S. Its meaning may not yet be clear even to some Communists who are questioning the "practical results" of such tactics, but it is precisely of such a parliamentarism that Lenin wrote: "There is parliamentarism and parliamentarism. Some utilize the parliamentary arena to carry favor with their government or, at best, to wash their hands off everything. . . Others utilize parliamentarism to remain revolutionists to the very end, to fulfill their duty as Socialists and Internationalists even under the most difficult circumstances. The parliamentarism of the former leads them to ministerial chairs; the parliamentary activity of the latter leads them to prison, exile, hard labor. The former serve the bourgeoisie; the latter, the proletariat."

The Communist Party has become a recognized power, a major American political factor. The word "Moscow" is still used in the enemy camp here and there, but in their frantic efforts to stem the tide of the mass movement, the exploiters often decry the Party for "using" the mass discontent "for its own purposes," thus admitting that the Party is linked up with the broad American masses. In fact, no line of demarcation is drawn by the capitalists and their spokesmen between the unemployed movement and the Party. They are all "Reds." They all aim at "disturbing the peace." They are

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all "seditious." Thus, out of the enemy's mouth comes the truth, that there is only one class party of the workers in the U. S. and that is the Communist Party.

d) Capitalism finds no way of easing the unemployment or mitigating the crisis. The more helpless it is in the presence of an economic debacle, the more viciously it grasps at the weapon of suppression. A wave of white terror is rising equal in brutality to the Palmer regime but more planned and more thorough. Betty Gannett found guilty and sentenced to from 5 to 10 years in jail, Zorka Yoki found guilty and sentenced to from 1 to 10 years; Harry Eisman found guilty, sentenced to 5 years; Dewey Martin found guilty and sentenced to 7 months on a chain gang; 200 arrested in Chicago; 68 arrested in Milwaukee; hundreds arrested throughout the country; parents punished for their children's failure to appear at school on March 6; children punished with demotions and expulsions. Charges of criminal syndicalism, of sedition, of inciting to riot are used in great profusion. Policemen's clubs are more active than ever. Official violence is rampant. The courts are openly wrecking vengeance. Communism is the menace. Communism is to be suppressed at any cost. The leaders of the Communist Party, 2 members of the Secretariat and one organizer of the largest Party district, must be kept in jail. A censorship has been established on revolutionary literature imported from abroad. Behind all these manifestations of ferociousness, fear is lurking. The rulers are genuinely frightened. They do not know how to cope with the situation. They are confronted with a new historic phenomenon which all their scholars and politicians told them was impossible in this country—a distinctly anti-capitalist movement of large working masses under the leadership of the Communist Party. They begin to realize dimly, if at all, that this is only a beginning.

e) The "labor" agents of capitalism are no less helpless and confused than their masters. One thing they know clearly: the revolutionary mass movement must not be allowed to grow. But as to the methods, they can suggest nothing beyond terror on the one hand, sham relief on the other. Thus Ryan advocates "a little clubbing now" so as to avoid the calling out of the militia and the shooting down of "a lot of people" later. On the other hand Green at the Senate hearing advocates "remedial measures" (exclusive of everything that could aid the unemployed, like unemployment insurance) reminding the capitalists of the danger of a revolution. Thus the Milwaukee Leader seconds Green by saying, "There is no immediate danger of violent revolution, but the conditions give the Communist the chance they want. The conditions lead directly to trouble and more trouble."

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No matter, however, what words the labor-bureaucrats and social-democrats use in the present emergency, they all unite more and more closely in serving the capitalists, in helping them suppress the workers. On the very same day, March 14, when the unemployed delegation of Communists inaugurated revolutionary parliamentarism at the Board of Estimate hearing in New York, Mayor Walker invited Rev. Norman Thomas to participate in the sessions of the Board of Estimate devoted to a discussion of the unemployment question, and the Reverend "Socialist" accepted, thus manifesting his willingness to share the responsibility for the unemployment "measures" of Tammany Hall, thus giving clear expression to the fact that the capitalists are earnestly preparing to put the Socialists in governmental positions in order to easier suppress the mass movement and that the Socialists are anxious and eager to serve in this capacity of capitalist agents.

Added to the lovely brethren is now a new element—the Lovestoneites. In the great historical struggle between the unemployed delegation of the March 6 Union Square meeting and the capitalist watch-dog Whalen, the Lovestoneites placed themselves squarely on the side of the latter. They denounced the march on City Hall of March 6. They denounce the struggle of the Communist Party for Union Square as the place of the May Day demonstration. They implicitly justify Whalen for whatever bloody action he may take against the masses of the workers on May First. The line between Norman Thomas and Benjamin Gitlow is becoming more and more difficult to discern. All the social-traitors, all the social-fascists, all the renegades of all hues, whether the Howatt-Brophy-Hapgood-Watt-Farrington "insurgent" outfit in the United Mine Workers, whether the Lovestone-Cannon-Gitlow outfit, whether the "liberals" of *The Nation*, or the "progressive" ministers united against the Soviet Union—all of them are one reactionary mass of agents striving to rescue capitalism from the morass in which it is sinking, all of them exposing themselves more and more before the eyes of the masses as to what they actually are: under-cover men of the exploiters among the exploited.

f) Outside of terror on the one hand and deception through the social-traitors on the other, capitalism can offer nothing by way of improvement. The Hawley-Smoot tariff destined to sharpen all contradictions of the capitalist system; the Three Power London Naval Treaty destined to increase armaments and to sharpen the antagonisms between Great Britain and the United States; the merging of giant corporations into still more tremendous concentrations of capital (Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Bethlehem Steel) destined to increase the rationalization and the oppression of

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the workers; the "farm relief" measures destined to increase the agrarian crisis and to sharpen the capitalist contradictions in the agrarian field; the "solution" of the crisis in Haiti which leaves the masses as exploited and downtrodden as before the uprising and which will inevitably lead to greater uprisings—this and Hoover's promise that the crisis would be over in 60 days, is all the most powerful capitalism in the world can offer in this crisis. Naked, helpless, devoid of constructive ideas, the capitalist world stands amidst the ruin created by its own forces, unable to extricate itself, unable to advance anything but lies, deception—and brute force.

The wheels of history are turning fast. Class forces are crystallizing. Lines are drawn sharply. The contours of the class construction of society are becoming visible to the eye of the plain workers. A protest against capitalism is maturing among the masses. A movement against exploitation is gaining momentum. May First must give new impetus to all these processes. May First must increase the scope of the mass movement and mark an advance compared with March Sixth. May First must help the consolidation of the Communist forces and their further welding together with the basic proletarian masses. May First must bring *political clearness* into the mass movement, transforming it into a great political demonstration against capitalist class dictatorship and for proletarian dictatorship which tends to abolish classes. May First must be a powerful mass demonstration against the war danger and for the Soviet Union. Above all, May First must be a further consolidation of the forces of the American working class in its march against capitalism.

History is being made rapidly in this epoch. We have all elements for a new chapter of the history of the American revolution on May First. It depends upon all of us to make that day what it *can* be in these stormy times.

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May First and the American Labor Movement

By BILL DUNNE

> "On the one hand, the enormous ceaseless stream of men, year after year, driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labor market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away. On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc., in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital. (Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Page 874.—Kerr Edition, 1919).

MAY Day became an international fighting day for the working class as a result of the struggle for the 8-hour day in the United States, which culminated in the general strike on May 1, 1886, centering in Chicago, the arrest of eight leaders of the workers and the legal murder of five of them following the bomb explosion in Haymarket Square while a huge mass meeting was being held. The explosion is commonly believed to have been the work of an agent-provocateur and was used as an excuse by the capitalist class and its agents to revenge themselves upon the workers and check the growing mass movement.

The struggle for the 8-hour day was the answer of the working class on a national scale to the developments described by Marx in the above quotation and marked the definite emergence of the American proletariat as a class.

The panic of 1873 which followed the demobilization of the armies of the North and South, throwing thousands of soldiers on the streets and into the ranks of the unemployed, the celebration by the capitalist class of the North of their victory over the land-holding ruling class of the South by an orgy of bribery and corruption in government and business administration, the looting of the public lands and other natural resources, the squeezing out of small capitalists and the beginning of the consolidation of ownership and control in the hands of new powerful combinations—the beginning of the end of the "golden days" of individual capitalist enterprise, were accompanied by mass unemployment and starvation wages. The two decades from 1866 to 1886 were a period of

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rapid capitalist consolidation carried on without mercy at the expense of the working class—a period of capitalist accumulation and concentration in which bribery and banditry played a big role.

Strikes were of frequent occurrence and already, as in the Pennsylvania railway strike and the steel strike (Homestead, 1877), had taken on a militant character and brought large numbers of workers into open conflict with the armed forces of the capitalists and the government.

During the Civil War the trade unions, such as there were, had practically disappeared. The working class found itself confronting greater concentration of capital with little trade union organization and that of a decentralized character. It was forced into action as a class and with the 8-hour day as its central demand entered the struggle on a national scale, a struggle which in spite of all its confused characteristics clearly bears out Marx's description of the causes and the development of such struggles:

> "Large scale production brings together in one place a mass of persons not previously acquainted with one another. Competition severs their interests. The defense of their rate of wages, giving them a joint interest as against their employer, plucks them out of their isolation, and consolidates them into a group. Animated by a general idea of resistance, they form a union. These unions, isolated to begin with, are themselves forced into combination as a means of defense against their employers, who on their side are steadily consolidating their forces for attack. In time, the defense of the unions comes to seem to the workers even more important than the defense of their wages. . . . In the struggle (the extant form of civil war) there are unified and developed all the elements of the coming general engagement. Having reached this point, the combination assumes a political character." (Poverty of Philosophy).

The determined attempt by the trade unions to conduct the fight for the 8-hour day on a national scale is to be seen from the fact that it was authorized and the date set two years in advance—in 1884, at the Fourth Convention of the Trade Unions and Labor Organizations. The class political character of the conflict was evident to the capitalists from the very beginning, as shown by the literature of the period, and their bloody suppresion of the movement. As in all such struggles the implications were far more significant than the mere demand for the 8-hour day would indicate.

The American trade union movement began in this period as a definite class instrument.

From this period also dates the organized attempts of the capitalists, through their agents in the movement, to confine the activities

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of the trade union movement to purely "economic" questions, to prevent it from basing itself on the class struggle, to strip it of all working class political character.

It was Samuel Gompers who made the Haymarket bomb explosion the excuse for rejecting the class struggle, for rejecting political action by the trade union movement, except as an appendage to the political parties of the capitalist class, who began at this time the systematic corruption of the trade unions which later made him the outstanding figure among the agents of imperialism in labor movement.

The Knights of Labor, with its mass form of organization and its confusion of the interests of industrial workers with those of farmers, was superseded by the American Federation of Labor based on the labor aristocracy. But the movement retained enough of its militant class character to produce the American Railway Union strike of 1894 lead by Debs, and in the metal mining regions of the Rocky Mountain section, the Western Federation of Miners led fierce battles for ten years more.

Inside the unions the fight for class struggle policies continued but Gompers and his collection of imperialist agents remained in control.

The corruption of the trade union movement, its failure to develop revolutionary policies, enabled the ruling class to erect the gigantic trustified structure of American capitalism in the imperialist period upon the backs of a working class almost entirely lacking organization in the decisive industries.

The recent rapid process of rationalization which has brought such misery to the masses, and upon which the rulers of all other capitalist countries look with envious eyes is thus seen to have one of its principal roots in the betrayal of the early mass struggle for the 8-hour day, and the subsequent corruption of the movement by the leaders of the labor aristocracy. The trade union movement, with the exception of the revolutionary minorities inside and outside the A. F. of L. unions, became an instrument of the capitalist class.

The revolutionary logic of the class struggle has made the Communist Party of the United States the bearer of all the militant traditions of the early labor movement. The blood of the Haymarket martyrs mingles with that of Ella May and Steve Katovis. Our Party alone carries forward the brave traditions of the general strike for the 8-hour day, raises as the American Section of the Communist International, the slogan of the political strike on May Day, 1930, for the unconditional release of all class war prisoners, against unemployment, for Work or Wages, for social insurance, for the 7-hour day and the 5-day week.

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7,000,000 workers have no jobs. Millions more work part time for miserable wages. Under the leadership of our Party hundreds of thousands of workers have demanded "Work or Wages." Hundreds of thousands will renew this demand on May Day. Masses of American workers demand *"the right to work."* This alone shows that the working class is throwing off the influence of imperialism's agents, preparing for mass struggles having a clear political character.

> "The right to work, in the bourgeois sense, is a contradiction, a miserable pious wish, but behind the right to work looms up the power over capital, behind the power over capital the expropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the organized working class, therefore, the abolition of wage labor, of capital and of their mutual relations. Behind the "right to work" stood the June insurrection." (Marx, The Class Struggles in France).

Behind the slogan of "Work or Wages" is the demand of the proletariat for the "right to work." Behind the "right to work" is the rapidly sharpening class struggle, the revolutionary trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League rallying the workers in the decisive industries, challenging, exposing and defeating in action the agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the workers—the fascist A. F. of L., the social-fascists of its Muste wing and the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party of the United States marches at the head of the working class battalions on May Day, 1930. In open class conflict, under the leadership of the World Party of Lenin, it has won the right to preserve for the class of which it is the most conscious and disciplined section, the fighting traditions of the worker-warriors who on May Day, 1886, christened with their blood and gave to the working class of the whole world its international fighting day.

An economic crisis grips American capitalism and involves it ever deeper in the world imperialist conflict. Its lies about permanent prosperity, its insolent claim to have refuted the Marxian law of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, are shattered. It is unable to stop the process of disillusionment among the masses, it can no longer marshal them under the black banners of its fascist agents to starve in silence.

For the first time our Party is able to speak to and rally hundreds of thousands of workers for struggle against rationalization and mass unemployment, to show the connection between the preparations for attack on the Soviet Union, for war between the imperialist powers, and the drive against the economic, social and

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political status of our class, to secure wide mass response from and establish a broad base among thousands of workers.

In 1886, in the infancy of the trade union movement, the clear line of the class struggle had not been carved deep enough by capitalist development to make it impossible for its agents among the masses to obscure it.

Today its crimson furrows are to be seen on the bodies of millions of workers.

Work or Wages, the "right to work," the struggle against imperialist war, defense of the Soviet Union, are linked inseparably today and are synthesized in the revolutionary slogan of "class against class."

The organization of our class, the building of the revolutionary unions under the leadership of our Party as the mass base of proletarian power is the main task facing us on May Day, 1930.

> "Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present movement they are also defending the future of the movement." (Communist Manifesto).

The correct connection of the immediate aims and struggles of our class with the revolutionary struggle for proletarian power, with our revolutionary objectives, is the key to the winning of the majority of the decisive sections of class for Communism—the task that cannot be separated from the building of the class struggle unions.

A CORRECTION

A serious typographical error was made in the COMMUNIST for March in the article written by Comrade R. Doonping. The title was made to read "*The Rising Revolutionary Wave and Trotsky Liquidation in China.*" As corrected it reads: "THE RISING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE AND TROTSKYIST LIQUIDATIONISM IN CHINA."

Another error occurred in the same article on page 200 where "*Stolypin period*" was made to read "*Stolypin switch.*"

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May Day and Social Democracy

By LOUIS KOVESS

"STAY at work! For the Fatherland!" This was the May Day message of the German, French and other Social Democrats to the working class at the time of the World War.

In 1925, the Marseilles Congress of the II International dropped the slogan of the 8-hour day as a demand! Instead the Congress stated that "The 8-hour day should be recognized *in principle*."

But the giving up of the fighting character of May Day, the mass mobilization, the 8-hour day, etc., were still periods of the development of Social Democracy, when these social chauvinists were still only *helping* the ruling classes in their imperialist war, in their fight against the 8-hour day, against the right of the workingclass to the streets, etc.

Since then May Days enriched the experiences of the working class regarding the development of social democracy. First was May Day in Warsaw, 1928, where the Socialist Party launched a murderous attack on the demonstrating workers, wounding 9 seriously and 100 lightly. The other is the First of May in Berlin, 1929, where scores have been killed and wounded by the Social Democratic chief of police, Zoergiebel, and by his police comrades. The Socialist prohibition of May Day demonstrations and the shooting down of the demonstrators, shows the way of transformation of social democracy into social fascism.

And, as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the revolutionary struggle of the masses grows, social-fascism changes to an ever greater extent from the helper of fascist terror into the *leader of fascist terror*. From the helper of the executioner, the *executioner himself*. From the helper of imperialist wars, into the *active preparator and leader of the imperialist wars*, especially that against the Soviet Union.

The fascisation of social democracy just as the general fascisation of the class rule of capitalism, is developing rapidly. There is no more social democracy in its former meaning, but only social fascism. Its development is uneven, as the development of capitalism. But in this social fascisation process the reformist stage is left behind.

The character of the May Day celebrations of Social Democracy, always reflected the policies and tactics of Social Democracy itself.

The II International was never a truly revolutionary International. Side by side with its revolutionary characteristics went its

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oportunist character. This was reflected in the first resolution, declaring May Day as the international proletarian holiday, at the formation of the II International, in 1889. The resolution stated, that class distinctions must be overcome through social revolution. But side by side with this stood the decision, that every Party of the International may arrange its May Day demonstrations according to the situation in the given countries. *This was the forerunner of social patriotism and social chauvinism.*

Still, the phrase "Social Revolution" gave a certain revolutionary color to the II International of that time.

But four years later the wording of the resolution was changed into "Social Transformation." *This was the forerunner of the later official standpoint of the International on peaceful development into Socialism.*

Still, the May Day strikes for the 8-hour day, for labor legislation, for peace, demonstrating the international solidarity and the strength of the proletariat, drawing the balance of successes and the mobilization for further struggle, remained.

But already before 1910 social democracy in many countries deferred May Day celebrations to Sundays, to avoid struggles, conflicts and strikes.

At the time of the world war in most countries the May Day celebrations narrowed down to indoor evening meetings of the Social Democratic Party members.

The social-fascists of today "celebrate" May Day in a true fascist fashion, prohibiting them, turning machine guns on the revolutionary workers.

The pre-war development of Social Democracy corresponded to that of the comparatively "peacefully" developing capitalism of those decades. But just as "peacefully" developing capitalism served as the economic basis for reformist theory and practice in pre-war decades, so did the post-war crisis, the decline of capitalism serve as the economic basis for the development of reformism into social-fascist theory and practice. "Economic democracy" is the theoretical basis for the fascist practice of present day social-fascism, last stage in the development of social democracy. This social-fascism turned upside down every tradition of May Day. And when the Communist International carries forward May Day traditions towards higher levels, uniting all the economic and political struggles of the workingclass into one truly international revolutionary *action*, we see social-fascism laying the basis for a new May Day tradition exemplified by the Berlin bloodbath.

At this May Day it would be a folly to speak about present day social democracy being reformist.

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They are decidedly even against reforms. German social democracy robbed the workingclass of the 8-hour day, McDonald, Henderson and Co. are fighting against shortening the working hours of the miners.

Pre-war II International still paraded at May Days as anti-militarist, for peace. But social democracy transformed into social fascism is frankly militarist. German social-fascism is building the higher type of cruisers. French social-fascism gave the best military plans to its bourgeoisie (Boncour). For "peace" the Social-Fascist International goes to the League of Nations.

The Parties of the Second International are quite openly imperialist. The American Socialist Party is in favor of the League of Nations, of the Kellog Pact and the oppression of the American colonies and semi-colonies, having only formal objections against the rule by marines. The Indian and Arabian policies of the British "labor" government is the same as that of the Tories. The German Social-Fascists are longing for colonies as well as their capitalist bosses and are more and more coming into the leadership in the present war preparations.

The social-fascists are in the forefront in abolishing even the remnants of bourgeois democracy. The Second International went on police duty, to stay, until it is destroyed together with capitalism, by the working class.

Recent congresses of Social Democratic parties have shown the social-fascists in their true color.

At the Magdeburg congress of the Social Democratic party of Germany, Wells gave the keynote to the congress, saying that social democracy has the right to establish a dictatorship against the workingclass. Dittman stated that "Germany has the right to arm herself." The "left" Toni Sender agreed to this general policy, expressing only the fear that the Communists may gain influence by the Zoergiebel acts.

At the Brighton conference of the British Labor Party, Thomas "solved" the problem of unemployment in a true imperialist manner, saying: "Get customers for our goods, to sell them."

At the Austrian social democratic conference, Seitz stated the opinion of his party: "The Schober cabinet will strengthen the order and the economic foundations of the country." This is about the fascist Schober.

The American Socialist Party at its last convention struck out from its statutes the expression "class struggle." By no means did it give up with this its participation in the class struggle. The Socialist Party gave up only formally also, the pretext that it is participating in the class struggle on the side of the workingclass.

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The Socialist Party is on the front line of the capitalist camp against the workers.

In its international policies Social Democracy has real achievements to account for. It succeeded to completely harmonize its anti-Soviet Union war campaign with that of the Pope and international finance capital. It succeeded to become an integral part of every international imperialist gathering and plot making.

The social-fascist leaders figured prominently in Paris, in Gent, in The Hague, at the (dis) armament conferences, in the Young Plan and International Bank conferences. When Stimson's note against the Soviet Union had to be indorsed, the social-fascist and coalition governments were first to do it. At the international conferences they all agreed that the burden of the last imperialist war and the burden of the coming imperialist war must be turned on the shoulders of the working class.

Otto Braun, the social-democrat prime minister of Prussia, stated that he is ready to sign a treaty with the Vatican. At the same time the social-fascists all over the world are working overtime to disrupt even the diplomatic and commercial relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states. It was the Social Democrat Muller's government which signed the German-Polish treaty, in preparation for armed attack against the Soviet Union.

Within the different countries social-fascism is becoming the civil war troops of capitalism in the struggle against the working class. In foreign policy it is the party of the Young Plan, of the International Bank, of the League of Nations, of imperialist "disarmament" conferences, of active war preparations against the land in which everything is in the rapid process of accomplishment, what the workers fought for and demonstrated in the pre-war May Days. Social democracy fused with finance capital, becomes an integral part of the capitalist state, is more and more fascisized as is shown by the deeds of the social-fascists. Only some of its phrases remained "socialist."

Contrary to Mr. Jay Lovestone, one must establish the fact that the American Social-Democrats are not exempt from the transformation into social-fascism. First of all the causes of this transformation are present here as elsewhere in the world system of capitalism. The apologists of American capitalism, who so much liked to play up capitalist statistics in favor of the ruling class, showing, for example, that American capitalism produces 30 to 70% of all the basic material (steel, oil, pig iron, coal, etc.) should, please note, that one-third of world unemployment, seven million of 20,000,000, is "produced," too, in this country of the "Victorian Age."

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The tempo of revolutionary development, the onward march *not* of capitalism, but of the workingclass, will be even swifter in this country from now on, than even many of our comrades estimated it. As a result, the role of the social-fascists and their growing into the state apparatus of capitalism will be swift too.

From the Zoergiebel of Berlin, to the Hoen of Milwaukee is not far. From the "Corporative State" idea of Mussolini and the class Cooperation policies of Mond, McDonald, the fascists Green and Woll, Rev. Thomas, is not distant at all. The Berlin Forward states that, "The authority of the state stands above classes." Does the New Leader say something exceptional? Is the theory of ultra imperialism and that of economic democracy, theories of social-fascism, strange for Abe Cahan, Hillquit or Rev. Thomas? Do not the American social-fascists hire gangsters against the left wing strikers and the Communists? Doesn't the American Socialist Party fulfill its duty as a strike-breaker? (Needle trades, South, etc.). Is the Reading city administration of the social-fascists of a different quality from that of German or other social-fascist city administrations, doing the dirty work of capitalism?

The American Socialists are not exempt from this fascisation process, but neither are the Lovestoneites themselves. On the soil of "dying capitalism," at its last stage, in its period of crisis and decline, reformism is transformed into social-fascism. At this same period, historically, their former place is taken by the right wing "Communists," themselves steadily marching towards social-fascism.

At this May Day, tens of millions of workers will follow the leadership of the Communist International, towards unified revolutionary action. Millions will participate in the *mass political strikes*. Employed and unemployed unitedly will march and demonstrate under the banner of the revolutionary workers party, the Communist International, in the direction of the proletarian revolution. Social-fascism, as a counter force, as the front line of fascisized capitalism will show at this May Day some more of its new features, will expose itself more thoroughly in the eyes of the workers, will enable us to win the majority of the working class, to follow the leadership of the Communists.

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May Day—1886 and Since

By SAM DARCY

HISTORY played a trick on the American Federation of Labor. It appointed Samuel Gompers as one of the officiating nursemaids at the cradle of International May Day. Events however sometimes move faster than and in different directions from their initiators. May Day is a revolutionary weapon of the workers. It is so that we can explain the eagerness of the capitalist world, from Hoover to Green and company, to deport May Day from the United States and declare it of foreign birth. Only reactionaries who would break the world unity of the workingclass could take the position that demonstrations initiated by the workers of other countries should not be participated in by the American working class. The enemies of the workers now make this reactionary appeal to the most backward nationalist instincts of the people.

Gompers himself tells at least part of the story of the origin of May Day. In his autobiography he writes as follows:

> "As plans for the eight hour movement developed, we were constantly realizing how we could widen our purpose. As the time for the meeting of the International Workingmen's Congress in Paris (July 14, 1889) approached, it occurred to me that we could aid our movement by an expression of world wide sympathy from that Congress." . . .
>
> "My letter informed the Paris Congress of our American efforts to celebrate the coming May Day by establishing eight hours for the carpenters and urged to cooperate. The proposal fell upon the ears of two bitterly warring factions. The German delegation headed by Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer, opposed the resolution on the ground that under the Imperial German Government it would be suicide for them to approve the movement. Herr Liebknecht emphatically opposed the proposal on the ground that labor organizations were not strong enough to succeed in the undertaking. Eventually a resolution for an eight hour demonstration was adopted and there was pretty general observance of the day."

But this, his own writing, must have sounded badly to the ears of the old reactionary Gompers. Following the narration of the above facts, showing clearly the initiative role of American labor, he adds the amazingly brazen remark that:

> "That was the origin of European May Day which has become a regular institution in all European countries."

Gompers in his book attempts to take the credit for the origin of the May Day idea. This is of course utter nonsense. The

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proposal first was made in 1884 by a local of the Knights of Labor in Baltimore. It was defeated within that organization thru the efforts of the reactionary Powderly, the Grand Master Workman. The central slogan around which the May Day demonstrations were carried on, was taken from the International Workingmen's Association which in 1864 called for the limitation of the working day as "the first step in the direction of the emancipation of the workingclass."

When May Day demonstrations were first held in Europe towards the end of the decade (1880-90) the capitalist class was in a period of "prosperity." Illusions had spread among the workers concerning the possibility of class peace. The German working class was in a struggle to break the infamous Exception Law which was the instrument for illegalizing the proletarian movement in that country. Despite this, May Day strikes and demonstrations were held in Budapest, Warsaw, Hamburg, and other cities. Police attempts to suppress the movement led to bloodshed in almost every case.

In the United States May Day demonstrations were held in many of the big cities throughout the country already four years before the movement was taken up in Europe! In Chicago 40,000 men went on strike closing thereby many factories and crippling transportation. Fights took place between police and workers in the Harvester plant and other of the largest factories in the country. Workers were clubbed and shot down by the police. *In New York a huge May Day meeting was held in Union Square.* Police brutality was especially aimed at the German workers who because they were the most recent immigrants of the time suffered the worst conditions and were the most militant in the class struggle.

In the succeeding years the reformists began a movement to take the revolutionary spirit out of May Day. Even at its inception the British Trade Unions leaders, the first in the international to feel the bribe of profits from colonial possessions, evaded the issue by calling for demonstrations on the first Sunday in May! All the efforts of the reformists however never succeeded in taking this revolutionary weapon from the hands of the proletarian masses.

Among the first efforts to introduce May Day to the Russian masses is that of 1896. Lenin, then incarcerated in the Czar's dungeons for his political activity, wrote and smuggled out of prison, a May Day manifesto in the name of the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class which was distributed to the workers in forty factories in Petersburg in a total of 2,000 copies. For clarity, simplicity, and effect there are few leaflets to surpass this one. It has a total of about 1,000 words. It is marked

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by a total absence of the hectic, complicated and excited phraseology which mark so many of our own leaflets. We reprint here the opening paragraph:

> Comrades!
>
> Let us consider our position very carefully—let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction we are thrown into prison without further ado.

In this brief simple fashion does Lenin speak to the workers in the May Day manifesto of 1896. The distribution of this leaflet helped to start a strike in the textile mills of 40,000 spinners and weavers.

May Day continued to grow in the response of the masses. The colonial countries in the East and in South America; the oppressed of Africa and Australia; in fact on every continent revolutionary May Day demonstrations became the traditional activity of the workers on May 1.

In the several years preceeding the outbreak of the World War the agitation around May Day witnessed not only the struggle of Labor against capitalism but also the battle of the revolutionary workers against the poisonous agitation of the reformists.

Against the holiday-Spring festival agitation of the reformists there was issued by the then Left elements within the old Social-Democracy a clear call to battle. Rosa Luxemburg, writing in Leipzig on April 30, 1913, pens a brilliantly prophetic May Day article. We reprint the closing section:

> "At this moment of frenzied military preparations and of war orgies it is only the resolute fighting stand of the working masses, their ability and readiness for powerful mass action, which still maintains world peace, which can still postpone the threatening world idea of resolute mass action as demonstrations of international solidarity and as a fighting tactic for peace and for Socialism even in the strongest section of the International, the German working class, strikes root, the greater guaranty we shall have that from the world war, which will inevitably take place sooner or later, there will result an ultimate victorious settlement between the world of labor and that of capital."

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But the war was postponed only for a year. The outbreak of the World War shattered the old Social Democracy, but May Day, the day of revolutionary struggle, became more than ever a powerful proletarian weapon.

May Day, 1915, the International Socialist Conference opened at Zimmerwald—the first organized step of the revolutionary workers against the "Socialist" betrayers. In Moscow several tens of thousands of workers went on strike. In Germany the Social-Democracy issued an appeal to the workers to abstain from any demonstrations! Karl Liebknecht was at that time being run into the non-combatant section of the army in order to keep him away from the masses. His work at the front alarmed the Kaiser's officials so, that they sent him back to Berlin. Using this opportunity, Liebknecht organized on May Day, 1916, one of the greatest May Day demonstrations ever witnessed up to this time on the continent under the slogan, "Against the Imperialist War" then raging at its height.

In the United States, Gompers and his crew, had long since betrayed Workers' May Day. Together with the government, Labor Day in September was substituted. To this time, however, the chief observers of Labor Day are the bankers, the manufacturers and the Labor fakers who usually celebrate this day in army camps or in millionaire hotels. To the great mass of workers it is merely a day off—that is where it is allowed. The government made a long series of attempts to take May 1 away from the workers as a day of militant struggle. When this generation was still young, May 1 was declared to be "Dewey Day" in the United States. Attempts were made to parade in commemoration of this butcher of colonial workers. But all in vain. For the past decade or thereabouts, May 1 has been declared Child Health Day. But this monstrous hypocricy of the exploiters of four million child laborers never deceived the masses.

Except for the period of the beginning of the May Day movement, possibly the greatest May Day was the May Day of 1919. And the greatest demonstration in that year was held in Cleveland under the leadership of our Comrade Charles E. Ruthenberg with the central slogans of "Support Soviet Russia," and "Free the Political Prisoners." In that year May Day in the entire country witnessed bloody battles between workers and police. In Boston, following the street battle in which billies, revolvers, and other weapons were freely used more than one hundred workers were arrested and brutally beaten in jail before being sentenced.

In Cleveland the day was marked by a parade of 20,000 workers, who on reaching the Public Square, the scene of the demonstration,

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were joined by 30,000 more. The leading columns had hardly entered the Square when the police and fascists with horses, machine guns, army tanks, etc., began their attacks. We leave it to Comrade Ruthenberg, the leader of the demonstration to tell the story of what took place:

> "Of course the workers fought back, and fought back bravely. But they were caught at a disadvantage, with their lines extended through the heart of the city four abreast, as it no doubt had been planned that they should be caught. (The plan of the parade had been agreed upon with the police—S.A.D.) The fight continued from about two o'clock until late in the evening.
>
> Two of the workers were shot by police officers, one being killed on the spot and the other has since died in the hospital. Hundreds were brutally beaten, men and women alike, and about one hundred and fifty arrested. The brutalities did not cease with the attack made upon the streets. The writer was arrested with the others, and worker after worker placed in the same cell block told of how the police took advantage of a dark corridor leading into the station to administer some extra blows with their clubs. One man, unable to stand up, was dragged into the corridor, set on his feet and told to stand up before the registry clerk, and when he collapsed was brutally shoved into a corner. The floor before the clerk's window was soon covered with blood from the worker's wounds and medical aid was not furnished for hours after.
>
> While the fighting was going on a crowd of hoodlums, with the police looking on, entered the Party headquarters and tore and smashed everything they could lay their hands on."

May Day has by this time come into its own again. Every May Day sees increasing millions, led by the workers of the Soviet Union, thundering along the streets demonstrating international revolutionary solidarity. In the United States similarly each year showed the growth of the strength of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party. In New York City, May Day 1929 witnessed the first parade of revolutionary workers since the war. About 20,000 took part.

This year scared by the tremendous demonstrations of August 1, the New York Katovis demonstration, and demonstrations on March 6 International Unemployment Day, the police are doing everything they can to take the right of workers to meet on the streets away from us. In New York City a police edict says that not a single workers' meeting will be permitted on the streets. Instead the biggest city centers, including Union Square, the scene of the first May Day demonstration in the United States in 1886, will be given over to fascists and armed police.

Will we be less worthy than our proletarian ancestors in the May Day struggle against our bosses? August 1, the events around the Katovis demonstration, and March 6 say NO! The workers

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of New York and of the entire country have shown that they know how to carry on the glorious fighting tradition of the American working class. May Day, 1930, will go down in history, together with the events related above and many more not yet told, as a shining example of working class revolutionary solidarity and courageous fighting ability for our slogans:

For the political mass strike.

For 7-hour day, 5-day week.

Against imperialist war—for the defense of our workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union.

For work or wages.

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

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Preparing For The Seventh Party Convention

By EARL BROWDER

FOR five days, from March 31 to April 4, a gathering of 132 leading members of the Communist Party gathered in conferences on the most important tasks facing the movement, organizational, trade union, etc., and in the Plenum of the Central Committee, reviewing the progress of the Party, searching out its weaknesses, consolidating its gains, and preparing for the Seventh National Convention of the Party, which will be held in New York on June 20.

The central political point in the deliberations of the Plenum, was the estimation of the economic crisis and its consequences.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CRISIS

Unanimously the Plenum declared that the economic crisis marks the turning point in the development of American imperialist policy, and the growth of the revolutionary movement of the working class. It is the declaration in bankruptcy of the reformist illusions concerning "permanent prosperity," of the "exceptional" position of American capitalism, of the theories that through rationalization the workers can reach higher wages, etc., which the international social-reformist movement had built up on the basis of the boom period which closed with the stock market crash last October. The crisis has written "finish" to that chapter of history, and opened a new one, in which the American working class, in common with the workers of all countries, is forced into struggle for the barest necessities of existence.

Already at the Plenum of October 4-8, 1929, the Central Committee had noted "the clear features of an oncoming crisis." In a series of documents it registered the crisis development, and in its resolution of January 4, it gave a comprehensive picture of its growth, coming to the conclusion that we are dealing with "the most far-reaching economic crisis in the history of capitalism, involving the whole capitalist world." All these analyses and conclusions have been fully confirmed by events. Today, these judgements are not contested except by the apologists of capitalism. The

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April Plenum brought our examination of the crisis up to date and rounded out our understanding of its full significance.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRISIS

Opportunists of all brands, who shrink from recognizing the deep-going nature of the crisis, find refuge in seizing upon all the fluctuations which arise out of the uneven development of the crisis, magnifying each little upturn in separate industries as signifying the ending, or at least the mitigation, of the crisis. The Plenum faced this question decisively, and analysed the true significance of this uneven development.

The course of development in the leading industries of steel and automobiles, which have shown the widest fluctuations, were examined as typical phenomena of this class. It was shown that precisely the extreme fluctuations in these industries, their first deep downward plunge followed by a partial recovery closer to the general level of economy, so far from being a sign of the ending of the crisis (as the gain in steel and autos was hailed in January and February) is, on the contrary one of the most effective factors deepening and aggravating the crisis, prolonging it and sending it to new depths.

The same is true of the uneven spreading of the crisis through the rest of the world. While guarding against the mechanical conception of a world crisis developing steadily and uniformly throughout the world, a view which would run sharply counter to the obvious facts and lead to gross errors of tactics, the Plenum emphasized the world nature of the crisis, its continued spread, its inexorable drawing of all countries into its orbit.

OFFENSIVE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

First of all, the effects of the crisis show themselves in an enormous sharpening of all antagonisms, of the class struggle and of the imperialist rivalries in preparation for war.

War against the living standards of the workers, is the first measure of the bourgeoisie to meet the crisis. The Plenum examined and summarized this offensive against the workers, establishing its main features in the gigantic unemployment and mass dismissals, the new and more drastic speeding-up in the workshops, wage cuts, and the sharp increase in the use of fascist methods of suppression of the workers' movement, and the growth of fascist tendencies generally. This offensive of the bourgeoisie gives rise to a movement of resistance on the part of the workers, and to the development of a counter-offensive. The Plenum set itself the task to find the correct strategy and tactics, to stimulate the radicalization

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of the workers, to turn this into channels of organization and struggle, and to bring the movement under the leadership of the Communist Party.

MARCH 6—MILESTONE ON THE ROAD TO A MASS PARTY

The great outpouring of demonstrating workers on March 6, International Day of struggle against unemployment, was the high point up to this time of the expression of radicalization of the workers of America. At the same time it marked the turning point in the development of the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party into mass organizations.

The Plenum established the March 6 action as the movement of the workers onto the plane of mass action. The hitherto scattered struggles, the small and disconnected strike struggles, significant as they had been as signs of the growing radicalization and spirit of struggle of the workers, had not before emerged into any wide, concerted mass actions. March 6 served not only as the vehicle of struggle for unemployment insurance, for work or wages, for the seven-hour five-day week, etc., but also as the awakener of class consciousness, of the politicalization of the movement.

Organizationally, the March 6 action connected up more than a million workers with the revolutionary unions and with the Party, by leading them into a street demonstration under revolutionary slogans, under conditions of severest police repressions ever seen in America for tens of years.

FASCISM AND SOCIAL-FASCISM

The role of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party in the development of fascism in the United States was clarified by the Plenum, which corrected a current error in the Party of speaking of the American Federation of Labor as "social-fascist." It was pointed out that the A. F. of L. is plainly a fascist organization, without any of the "protective coloring" of socialist phrases which distinguishes social-fascim. The Socialist Party and its Muste wing are social-fascists, differing from those of Europe only in their being farther away from governmental positions in which they must find their full flowering.

This distinction between two forms of fascist development must not be misunderstood as signifying different degrees of fascization. Indeed, it may well happen that the social-fascists, even though disguising themselves with "socialist" phrases, may be more viciously fascist in action than even the open fascist elements.

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IMMINENT WAR DANGER

Sharpening imperialist rivalries, dramatized by the London Naval Conference, served to help the Plenum in its task of sharpening the realization of the Party and the working class of the inminence of the war danger. The Plenum noted that the economic crisis has brought the profound antagonisms between the United States and Britain to the most serious point yet seen in the relations of these powers. In the wild trade-war now raging throughout Europe, Asia, and Latin-America between these imperialist giants, there is maturing the new world war.

The world economic crisis has further cut down the possible manoeuvring ground, shortened the breathing space, and brought the war as the only possible way out of the blind alley of capitalism.

In this situation, the enormous advances being made in the Soviet Union, in the construction of socialism, and especially in the collectivization of agriculture, has been the most important influence undermining the precarious stabilization of capitalism. Especially in the conditions of economic crisis, the very existence of the Soviet Union is a threat to capitalism, and rouses its wildest rage. The world campaign led by the Pope and all churches of the world, organized and launched in connection with the London Conference, was a lighting-flash that warned the workers of the whole world of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union on the part of world capitalism. For the workers of the capitalist countries, it is impossible to fight effectively against the coming imperialist war, without putting in the foreground the struggle for defense of the Soviet Union, the fortress of the world's workingclass.

FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

In the new situation created by the economic crisis, new tasks and new opportunities are created for the Communist Party.

Above all, the Party must take a drastic turn to mass work, to the building up of mass organizations. There is no possible way by which the Party can extend its leadership over the masses except through organization. The awakening millions cannot all be brought directly into the Party itself. The connecting belts between the Party and the masses can only be the non-Party mass organizations, above all the revolutionary trade unions.

The Plenum placed this task of building the trade unions as the very center of all Party discussion and activity.

Standing as the main obstacle to the successful solution of the Party problems, the Plenum pointed out the persistence of oppor-

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tunist practices and methods in the work of the movement. The struggle against opportunism in all its forms and manifestations, this becomes the central line in the inner-Party and trade union life. Without a relentless and stubborn fight, to root out all remnants of opportunism, especially the most insidious form of opportunism, which does not theorize itself but shows itself in practice in a persistent line of opportunist errors it is impossible to build the mass organizations.

Much of the attention of the Plenum was taken up in the concrete examination of the practical work of the Party, in the light of the struggle against opportunism. The documents of the Plenum give a concrete lead to the whole Party for this struggle.

SELF-CRITICISM AND THE PROBLEM OF CADRES

With the enormous multiplication of tasks before it, the Party has become keenly conscious of a crisis of cadres. There is a tremendous shortage of leading forces for the organization and direction of the work. The problem of the promotion of new and fresh forces for this work, the problem of creating new cadres, is bound up with the whole development of the Party life. Especially it requires the development of an active inner-Party life, of proletarian democracy, of systematic self-criticism and the conscious promotion of workers to responsible posts by the Party.

The Plenum not only gave the directives for meeting these problems, but itself furnished the Party with a concrete example of how to put it into practice.

WORK AMONG NEGROES: WORK IN THE SOUTH

A special discussion and resolution in the Plenum on work in the South, furnished the Party with its first comprehensive and detailed examination of this enormously important field of work. This, together with the clarification of the Party on the slogan of self-determination for the Negroes, were among the most important contributions of this Plenum. The documents of the Plenum on these points will be studied by the entire Party, and will mark the beginning of more solid progress in both fields. The Plenum marked the advance of work in these fields upon a practical basis, on a far wider scale than anything hitherto seen, although still very unsatisfactory considering the immense possibilities and opportunities open to our Party.

TRADE UNION RECRUITMENT

The problem of building the revolutionary trade unions was concretized around support of the announced Recruitment Campaign of the Trade Union Unity League. The Plenum established

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that the three major conditions for success in this work are: (a) the full mobilization of all Party forces for the work; (b) the development of a large body of trained forces for leadership, the solution of the problem of cadres, and (c) the concretization of the struggle against opportunism in the trade union work.

For the Party the Plenum put forth these three tasks as the ABC of all progress in the trade union field, which itself is the key to the growth of the Party as a Party of the masses.

PARTY UNIFICATION

That this Plenum marked the final burial of all remnants of factionalism, which for so long had cursed the Party, was demonstrated by the fact that there was no necessity of any kind of resolution whatever on this subject.

Some small remnants of factional tendencies, which did not touch the heart of Party life, were found in the opportunist struggles against the Party line in the Chicago District, personified in comrades Held and Cline.

The resolution on the problems of the Chicago District dealt quite fully with the Party method of dealing with these remnants of factionalism. At the same time, this resolution was intended for the Party as an example for every District to review its problems and its work, to search out its weakness and overcome them, and to place the Party in Chicago and all other Districts, upon a firm Bolshevik line in practice as well as theory.

CONCLUSION

Our Plenum of the Central Committee has done its work. The results will be embodied in a pamphlet containing all the resolutions of the gathering, which will furnish the basis for the work of the forthcoming Convention. In this article, we have merely sketched some of the high spots of the Plenum's work, which will be completed in the Convention opening on June 20. Our Seventh National Convention will be the first such gathering in the new period, with the Party completely reorientated upon the line of the Communist International, and will be a testimonial to the soundness of our International leadership, with whose help we have been able to so thoroughly sanitate our Party and lay the solid foundations upon which we are building a mass Communist Party, Section of the Communist International.

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Problems of the Communist Party of Mexico

THE Mexican bourgeoisie and its government has gone completely over to the side of Yankee imperialism, is engaged in a savage offensive against the Mexican masses, and particularly against the Communist Party, the leader of the exploited and oppressed. This offensive against the Mexican masses and the break of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, together with the whole situation in Mexico, fully bears out the thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Comunist International in its analysis of the third period of post war imperialism as a period of new rising revolutionary tide. It also demonstrates the correctness of the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Enlarged Presidium meeting in March of this year which "stressed the point that the outstanding feature of the third period of post war development of capitalism is the sharp accentuation of the basic internal and external contradictions expressed at the present time in an accelerated shattering of capitalist stabilization, in the deepening and widening of the revolutionary tide of the international labor movement and in the ripening of anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonial countries." If our Communist Parties are to play a decisive role in the revolutionary developments and consciously take over leadership in the rising mass movements and guide them to victory, we must also emphasize the following point in the program of the Communist International, adopted at the Sixth World Congress, which says:

> "From the viewpoint of the international working class struggle, a most important objective tactic in the Communist International consists in the revolutionary struggle in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. This struggle presupposes the conquest of power under the banner of the revolution, by the great masses of workers and peasants in the colonies, which is impossible without the closest cooperation between the proletariat of the oppressing nations and the exploited masses of the oppressed nations."

In order to carry out in life this line of our world Party, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. must make itself thoroughly familiar with the problems of the Mexican workers, and must arouse the entire working class to fraternal interest in and solidarity with their struggles. In the past, our own Party as well as the

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Communist Party of Mexico, have been too much under an opportunist leadership which based itself upon the conception of an "exceptional" position of the U. S. A. or of Mexico and rejected the application of the general analysis of the Communist International to our particular countries.

In both countries, provincialism has been one of the outstanding forms of opportunism. In the U. S. A. the overestimation of the power of Yankee imperialism is an expression of influences within the Party of petty bourgeois reformist elements, resulting in an opportunist paralysis in the struggle against imperialism. Only after our Party had, with the aid of the Communist International, begun to free itself from opportunist provincialism and turn to genuine mass work, did our Party begin to comprehend and carry out its duty, as was first shown by the demonstrations in defense of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Mexico and Haiti. On our part, we must continue to uproot all vestiges of this opportunist sickness, just as the comrades in Mexico should struggle against the same heritage of the past. In both parties, the limited viewpoints established by past opportunism could not but result in error and injury to the development of our Parties. In Mexico, this provincialism led, among other things, to a failure to learn the lessons of the Chinese revolution, the necessity to distinguish between the petty bourgeois nationalist reformism (which is transformed in the course of the struggle into fascism, as it surrenders, out of fear of the revolutionary masses, to imperialism) on the one hand and, on the other hand, the revolutionary national liberation struggle, whose leader is and can only be the colonial and semi-colonial proletariat. The revolutionary national liberation movement in Mexico, as elsewhere, has before it the task of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution as a "stage that implies the preparation of the elements of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist revolution." Hence, it is a mistake for the Mexican Communist Party to state that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is "worn out" (agotada) or "failed," just as it is a mistake of the Trotskyites to say that it has been "accomplished long ago" because such a mistake, not properly estimating the *defeat* of the bourgeois democratic revolution, forestalls the perspective of the Party rallying the masses under its leadership for the concrete demands of the bourgeois-democratic revolution as outlined in the colonial thesis of the Communist International.

It can hardly be questioned that Mexico shares in the general crisis of the capitalist world, clearly characterized in the Sixth World Congress thesis in the following words:

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> "This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: among the imperialist states, wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. . . . This period will inevitably lead—thru the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization—to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

In the United States, the renegades of both the open right wing (Lovestone) and the false "left" Trotskyites (Cannon) ridicule and reject the Communist International analysis of the third period. It is to be regretted that the Communist Party of Mexico does not yet fully reflect this analysis in its July thesis or January resolution, nor concretely apply this analysis to Mexico.

Mexico, and all of Latin America, as well as Asia and Africa, is a battle ground between two chief imperialisms—Great Britain and United States, the United States imperialism, expanding rapidly, seeking to secure dominance over British imperialism in the control of markets and resources. Upon this question the thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International said:

> "The rapid expansion of the United States inevitably brings her interests into conflict with the interests of the decaying, but still extremely powerful British imperialism. The antagonisms between the Dollar Republic, with her rapid rate of development and relatively small colonial possessions, and the declining British Colonial Empire, with its gigantic colonial monopoly, represents the pivot of international antagonisms in the present period."

It is our opinion that the major recent political phenomena in Mexico (the De la Huerta rebellion, that of Serrano and Gomez, the assassination of Obregon, the Escobar-Aguirre revolt, the election and shooting of Ortiz Rubio, etc.) are just as truly a reflection of the rivalry between British and Yankee imperialism as are the civil wars in China, the clashes between Bolivia and Paraguay, and the so called "internal" disturbances in Brazil, in the election contest. Back of this struggle are the economic facts that while British investments in Mexico between 1913 and 1929 increased by 28.12 per cent, those of the United States almost doubled, increasing by 93.76 per cent, while the combined investments of the two imperialist giants constituted more than 90% of all foreign investments in Mexico. We see clearly that the two great rivals of imperialism are fighting a life and death struggle for supremacy, and have subjected Mexican economy to their economies, and Mexican politics to the savage political struggle which arises from their conflict for world supremacy.

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This imperialist struggle has been enormously sharpened by the world economic crisis, just as all other contradictions and antagonisms of capitalism. While United States exhibits the economic crisis in its sharpest form, the beginning of the world crisis can be clearly seen everywhere and especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the source of raw material for imperialist economy, and especially in those countries of mono-culture, dependent upon one or a few products produced for the world market. Classical expressions of these roots of the world economic crisis are seen in Latin America, the nitrate crisis in Chili, the crisis in Argentine wheat, Brazilian, Porto Rican and Haitian coffee, in Cuban sugar; in Mexico the same thing can be said of petroleum, production of which fell from the high point of 193,397,587 barrels in 1921 to 50,150,641 barrels in 1928.

The struggle in Mexico between the feudal class and the bourgeois class, though developing out of the "normal" historical advance of the bourgeoisie, though fought out upon the soil of Mexico, with special Mexican characteristics and the immediate concrete aims of Mexican economic classes, takes place under the tremendous pressure and influence of imperialist penetration which distorts the development of native classes, both economically and politically. Imperialism, preventing the national bourgeoisie to develop "normally" on the basis of independent native industry and economy, neither permit the bourgeoisie to develop political maturity or national unity, forcing it into compromise with feudalism and the feudalists, and subordinating it in every respect to the foreign imperialist interest. But as imperialism is itself not a unified force, its own rivalries are reflected in the arena of Mexican politics. Instead of a nationally unified bourgeoisie contending for political power with the stubbornly persisting remnants of feudalism, both these politically and economically antagonistic social classes are subordinated to one or the other of the great imperialist powers, united as groups in fierce struggle with one another upon lines determined by foreign imperialist interest. Only in this light can we understand the savage struggle and continual turmoil existing among the exploiting class elements in Mexico and throughout Latin America, just as we have seen the same thing developing in China.

Upon this basis, the only possible form for the imperialism dominant in the central government to exercise its governing power within Mexico is that of a fascist regime, held together by the direct leadership and economic and military support of imperialism, and seeking to paralyze the normal class conflict between the bourgeois and feudal elements.

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This disintegration of the class structure of Mexican bourgeoisie, this super-imposing of the imperialist struggle upon the political life of Mexico increases and multiplies the revolutionary possibilities for the exploited classes under the leadership of the proletariat. The failure of the Communist Party of Mexico hitherto to see the role played by British imperialism (its influence on provincial politics, for example, in Vera Cruz, Jalisco, setting the provincial political groups against the Yankee controlled central government); this failure to see the imperialist rivalries at work in Mexico and hence not to see the weakness of imperialism, resulted in an overestimation of the power of imperialism in general, an opportunist outlook characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie (the outlook of Lovestone in the U. S. A.) resulting in a failure to make use of the revolutionary possibilities in the interests of the proletariat. The only class in Mexico capable of national unity and homogeneous political development is the proletariat and it is the first duty of the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, to bring this class force into unity and action. The first task of the C. P. of Mexico in discharging this duty is to attain its own complete political independence from the influence of other classes, to combat in the sharpest manner all expressions of bourgeois and petty bourgeois class ideology and to stand before the proletariat and the toiling masses as the only representative of their class interests, and of their class interests only.

It was an opportunist "forgetfulness" of the old leadership of the Communist Party of Mexico which failed to see the imperialist rivalries reflected in the Escobar-Aguirre rebellion, and which, estimating the Portes Gil government as a part of the forces of "the revolution" and which saw "la reaccion" coming not from economic classes and forces but "del norte"; that led the Party and its supporters into a catastrophic united front with Portes Gil, Hoover and Wall Street in March, 1929. While this was corrected in the course of action, the correction came too late and was not yet based on a correct analysis. This wrong analysis was visible in the thesis of September, 1928, where it said that "American investment ousts and subordinates to its interests the rest of invested capital, attaining thus a united front of bankers and foreign exploiters, under the direction of the American government." Doubtless this thesis which saw a united front of imperialism in place of imperialist rivalry was the basis for the March action in support of one imperialism (Yankee) against the other (British).

This opportunist concept was also a brother of the idea that the Mexican government was "revolutionary" in the sense that it expressed the class interests of the proletariat and poor peasantry, that

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the "labor" government of Calles was something equivalent to the workers and peasants government of the Soviet Union, and that therefore there was a united front of imperialisms against it and that the duty of the Communists was to "build a wall of iron around the Calles government" in the time of the Serrano-Gomez rebellion; that it was the Communist position to aid even conditionally the candidacy of the agent of the Standard Oil, Obregon, under the illusion that Obregon was more "progressive" than Gomez.

In spite of the fact that the C. P. of Mexico made a sharp correction of its line, and drove out the opportunist leaders, yet we can trace a continuous line of the influence of this opportunist analysis still in the July thesis and also to some extent in the Central Committee resolution of January.

The estimation of the Mexican bourgeois government, not as the victim of imperialism but as its ally, was correctly made by the thesis of July, 1929, but even here it seems to us we find again the germ of possible future error because the July thesis speaks of the thesis of September 1928 as "justa en su base"; failing to point out the erroneous analysis of the September thesis of a "united front" of all imperialisms against what was supposed to be a revolutionary government, and in turn, the Central Committee resolution of January 1930 states that the July thesis was correct and on its erroneous analytical base proceeds to a reformulation of the old errors.

These opportunist conceptions naturally ignored also the thesis of the Sixth World Congress where it is pointed out regarding China, "but this common struggle against the Chinese revolution develops deep contradictions of interests within the womb of the imperialist bloc"; a statement which can be thoroughly applied to Mexico. Even had the government of Portes Gil been an expression of the anti-imperialist revolutionary workers and peasants —which it was not—and had there been a "united front" of British and American imperialisms against it—which there was not —still each of the two great imperialist rivals would have been, within such a bloc, engaged in a fierce struggle for supremacy, in a fight for political domination of its native Mexican ruling classes.

The July thesis of the Communist Party of Mexico, pursuing on the whole a splendid line of self criticism and clearly pointing out many of the past errors of the old leadership, nevertheless shelters in a new form remnants of the old mistake. Surprisingly, this is done in the very section where attempt is made to explain the "revolutionizing role of imperialism." Here we find at the

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beginning an excellent statement that "the more this competition—especially between the United States and Britain—provokes an international tenseness and tends to solve itself by means of war, the more will the struggle of imperialisms reflect itself in Mexico, at times covered and at other times openly." In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that it was written while the last shots of the British-supported Escobar-Aguirre rebellion were echoing throughout Mexico, this section fails to point out that the rebellion then ending was connected with the imperialist rivalries, was one of the "little wars" pointed out by the C. I. as part of the rehearsal for the coming world war; and proceeding from the inexact statement that "Yankee imperialism has left England, France and Germany far behind" goes on to say that "this supremacy of the U. S. over England is an element of grave instability which pulls Mexico along in the world game of imperialist powers engaged in ferocious combats" without explaining that the instability for Mexico comes not because one or the other has "supremacy" but because its rival is strong enough to fight back and does fight back in an attempt to regain supremacy for itself.

In this same section which correctly started by pointing to the fight between imperialisms that carries competition in finance and trade on to the field of armed warfare and correctly stated that this will reflect itself in Mexico, not only failed to see this reflection in the civil war then resounding but ends up with the "competition" of the imperialist rivals being pictured as limited to commerce alone, with the power of Yankee imperialism so magnified that not only is imperialist rivalry pictured as wiped out, but an attitude of hopelessness is created for the revolutionary class struggle.

Understanding therefore the disintegrating role of imperialist rivalry projected into Mexico with the dominating influence of imperialist economy upon "Mexican" economy, the July thesis was quite correct in saying that the struggle of the imperialisms will reflect itself in Mexico, concealed and openly, but while this is said under section VI, the fact that imperialism is spoken of throughout all the rest of the thesis as meaning U. S. imperialism only, contradicts it, while under section V, subsection 2, a completely contrary perspective is set forth beginning with the following sentence: "It would be erroneous to believe that at present the divergencies within the counter revolutionary bloc could weaken or destroy it." In this sentence there remains, in a new form, the same error as the previous thesis of September 1928—the "united front" of bankers and foreign exploiters, under the direction of the American government. Nor is the above sentence isolated in sense from the

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whole section which follows it as "proof." Let us examine some of this proof:

> "Within the sole class of possessors, there exists a series of group interests. While the counter-revolutionary united front is nothing more than a meeting of the various groups of economic interests, and while these interests have their reflection in the activities of the groups, parties and politicians, there will inevitably take place controversies and discussions which may even assume a character of violent criticism."

The same section says of this counter-revolutionary bloc that:

> "Economically, these divergencies and contradictions do not, by any means, signify a struggle for principles by any group against the *counter-revolutionary block* that tends to destroy it, but simply a dispute for influence *within the block* for an increase of the share of the surplus value which corresponds to each group participating in the counter-revolutionary block." (Emphasis in original.)

Of course, if we are seeking among bourgeois or feudal elements, among exploiters, among exploiting classes, for "principles" we will never be able to find them, neither in the past, present or future. Marxians do not expect to find principles or ethics superior to class interests, nor do they waste any time lamenting the absence of such principles or ethics. What is important here to note is that this lamentation covers the conception that the internal contradictions of Mexican economy are of little importance, a conception that is the brother of the right wing idea throughout the world concerning the ability of capital to "organize" itself and eliminate its internal contradictions. This we find clearly in the lines which follow the above quotation:

> "This is the estimation which we must give to the internal struggles within the counter-revolutionary block. Just as there exists among the capitalist trusts a struggle for the sharing of profits, so also among the counter-revolutionary trusts established by the possessing classes and American imperialism, there will always be divergencies and struggles among the various groups for the profits obtained by the exploitation of the people."

We might overlook this section in such a long thesis as that of July, which in other sections contradicted it and began severe self criticism of the mistakes of the March events, were it not clear from the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico of January 1930, that the same fundamentally wrong view is the basic line of analysis followed by the Party. This is clear from the opening lines of the January 13, 1930, resolution, which says:

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> "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico met on the first fortnight of December, 1929; that is, at a moment of decisive importance in its history as well as in the history of the revolutionary movement of Mexico; at the moment when the first stage of the consolidation (precarious, unstable, of course) of the semi-colonial capitalist regime begins."

Here the same idea of "organized capitalism" having eliminated its serious internal contradictions, which in the July thesis was put forward as mere "dispute, controversies and discussions" within the counter revolutionary bloc, is brought forward anew in the statement that beginning of December the "first stage of consolidation of the semi-colonial capitalist regime" was commencing. And just as the July thesis held that the contradictions within the bloc would neither weaken nor destroy it, so the January resolution in putting in parenthesis "precarious, unstable," follows the incorrect line of the July thesis which saw in the inner contradictions of Mexican capitalism only some unimportant "controversies, discussions which may even assume a character of violent criticism." We see then that the error of the September 1928 thesis which saw a "united front" of foreign imperialisms was not discovered in the July thesis. And the error was continued; further, the resolution of January 13 in the quotation given above continues to maintain the same line.

In the face of the analysis of the Sixth Congress, of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and of the world economic crisis so dramatically signallized by the Wall Street crash of last October-November, it is clear beyond all doubt that the resolution of January 13 of the C.P.M. demonstrates a fundamental weakness in the Party line.

The onset of the economic crisis in the U. S. is inescapably bound to cause profound reverberations in Mexico as well as throughout the world. Imperialism is trying to unload the burden of the crisis not only upon its own proletariat but also on the subjected peoples, increasing the pressure against the exploited classes in Latin America. One of the first clear signs of the development of the world economic crisis was the drop in the price of silver and the depreciation of the valuta of Mexico, consequently. Even in the resolution of January 13 we find ample evidence (paragraph 2) to prove that the political conclusion of "capitalist consolidation" extracted from it was entirely wrong. For example, "the economic situation of the country: the deficit in the commercial balance, the great number of unemployed workers . . . shutting down of mines,

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oil fields, textile factories, metallurgical plants. . reduction in wages, the terrible depression in the agricultural production, growing frequency of clashes between groups of armed peasants and landowners, rebellions of Indian tribes, frequent strikes in all branches of industrial production."

Even the concentration of reactionary forces in the process of the fascisation of the government (a process now completed) and the fascisation of the reformists (CROM, the socialists of various provinces, the CGT, the renegades from Communism, sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasant proprietors is not a "consolidation of the capitalist regime," but on the contrary, signifies a crisis of capitalism which the capitalists try to solve by intensifying the repressive attacks of fascism; nor must there be any illusions to the effect that the attacks against the workers organizations are "fascist acts" but that the government itself is not a fascist governmen. The government must be understood as openly and clearly fascist.

The foregoing having clarified the general analysis according to our view, it seems clear that the main tasks of the Communist Party of Mexico should be along the following lines:

The first and primary task of the C.P.M. is the fight against the right danger which is that opportunist outlook that seeps into the ranks of the Party of the proletariat from the continual influence of the bourgeoisie. This basic task consists in severing every ideological and organizational connection with the bourgeoisie. The Worker-Peasant Bloc cannot, either nationally nor locally, be allowed to serve as the basis for continued illusions. Its two-class composition, of the proletariat on one side and the petty bourgeois peasantry (however poor and miserable) on the other side, negates all ideas of the permanency of such a bloc, and the July Thesis erred in stating of this mixed class body—"obrero y campesino, enemigo por principio del capitalismo, del imperialismo y del reformismo." While Leninism teaches us the necessity of the worker and peasant alliance, it teaches us also of the imperative necessity of the proletariat having hegemony in such alliance, and it is an opportunist distortion of Leninism that sets up a "worker-peasant bloc" as implying an equality in the direction of the revolutionary struggle, as implying a parallel and dual class power as even possible in a class society, an implication which sheltered behind the worker-peasant bloc of Mexico, a surrender of the hegemony within that bloc by the party of the proletariat to the political organ of the petty bourgeois peasantry, the National Peasants League. The winning of the decisive forces of the proletariat, and most imperatively of the agricultural wage workers, the Indian peons, must

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be the first care of the C. P., and the policy of deification and dependence upon the vaccilating petty-bourgeois revolutionism of the peasantry merely because of its violence, must be sharply broken with, nor allowed to remain in new form in over-estimation of the need to organize a new National Peasants' League.

The fight for legality of the Communist Party is inseparably bound up with the policy of complete independence and hegemony of the Communist Party in speaking and fighting for the fundamental demands of the workers and peasants. In other words, the Communist Party's fight for its own legality is a fight of the Communist Party under its own banner for the interests of the masses against the exploiters and the government. The fascist government, growing ever more unstable from its inability to solve the economic crisis which will cause discontent to grow not only among the proletariat and poor peasantry but even among the petty bourgeois of the cities, will certainly be faced with new revolutions. In such case, the erroneous theory that the unity of the counter-revolutionary bloc is unbreakable by its inner contradictions must not be used as a cover for opportunist support of or alliance with any newly discovered "opposition" but the C. P. must come forward to lead the masses against both the fascist government and its "opposition" which will doubtless be masked in phrases of liberation. The C. P. must seize upon all weaknesses of the bourgeoisie and lead the masses toward struggle and the establishment of a Soviet government.

The most important immediate tasks are centered around the establishment of the revolutionary trade unions, of rallying the masses to the revolutionary center, the C.S.U.M., which must continue even more than before to appear to the Mexican proletariat as the one and only center of revolutionary trade unionism responding to every struggle that breaks out with its own clear program and in its own name and always holding up in front of the workers the slogans corresponding to their basic needs. The C.S.U.M. must endear itself to the masses by relentless war upon the fascist labor code and mobilize the workers to defy it. The "struggle for the existence of the C.S.U.M." must not be a passive or verbal attitude of complaint against its own repression but must take the character of a counter-offensive against the exploitation and repression of the workers.

One of the primary and most fundamental tasks in trade union work is the organization of the Indian peons. In a population of 14,000,000 there are more than four million Indians, by far the greater part agricultural wage workers or semi-serfs living a most miserable existence as a subject race and a most exploited and op-

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pressed class. The opportunist leadership of the past in the C.P.M., now turned renegade to Communism, gave much talk but little action in regard to organizing these Indian peons. What is now required is not long theses on the question, but real organization. The organization of a new Peasants League, while important, is secondary to the revolutionary organization of the agricultural peon wage workers, without whose support the agrarian revolution cannot succeed.

The C.P.U.S.A. must become more keenly conscious of its own past shortcomings and mistakes which were especially pronounced on the question of development of joint action with the Parties of Latin America and the colonies generally. With our demonstrations of the past months in solidarity with the revolutionary masses of Mexico and Haiti, we have marked the turning point towards a real bolshevik policy in this respect, similar to the turning point marked by the great March 6 demonstrations in our mass mobilization for the class struggle in the U. S. A. Now, more than ever, our Party must concentrate upon the development of the keen realization by the revolutionary masses in the U. S. A. of their identity of interests with the oppressed masses of Latin-America and upon the organization of definite, concrete mass actions to realize this solidarity in life.

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On the Eve of the Fifth Congress of the Profintern

THE Fifth World Congress of the Red Trade Union International will convene in July of this year. July also means the 10th birthday anniversary of the Profintern. Of course, a congress to us is not a jubilee parade in the traditional style of the trade unions of the Amsterdam International, but rather a very significant milestone in the development of the international revolutionary trade union movement.

About two years ago the IV Congress of the Profintern stood at the threshhold of the Third Period. The contradictions of the partial stabilization of capitalism expressed themselves very strongly even then in a great sharpening of economic struggles in the capitalist countries of the west and in a prodigious upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement in the colonial east.

The historic significance of the IV Congress of the Profintern consisted exactly in the fact that all its decisions were made at the *turning point* of two periods and that it has succeeded in correctly pointing out the immediate tactical problems of the revolutionary trade union movement of the coming period.

The IV Congress of the Profintern passed off under the sign of an *increasingly pitiless struggle with right opportunism* in the international trade union movement; it has raised the slogan "Class against Class" in the economic struggles of the proletariat, having decidedly taken up the line of *independent* organization and leadership of economic struggles by the revolutionary trade union vanguard. The IV Congress revealed the capitulatory meaning of the Right opportunistic slogan "force the trade union bureaucrats." At the IV Congress the question was also raised of the beginning of a process of fascisation of the reformist trade union apparatus.

The decisions of the IV Congress of the Profintern were on the whole an important step in the bitter discussion with the Rights that has ended with the chasing out of the Rights from the ranks of the Comintern and Profintern and their rapid transformation into direct agents of international social-fascism. Two years have passed since then. The Third Period has matured. The VI Congress of the Comintern and then the X Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

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have laid down in exact detail the problems of the Third Period that have grown out of the very process of development of capitalist economy and of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The growing world economic crisis both in manufacturing and agricultural industries, the unheard of extent of unemployment, the shocking growth of exploitation of labor resulting from capitalist rationalization, the massed attack by monopolistic capital against the standard of living of the proletariat and the efforts of the bourgeoisie, *of fascism and of social-fascism to transfer the entire burden of* the economic ruin in all capitalist countries onto the shoulders of the laboring masses—such is the background out of which grew out the increasing resistance of the working class, assuming more the *counter-offensive* and the development of more intensive revolutionary class struggles.

The truly international character of the Profintern always distinguished it from the social-fascist Amsterdam International, that always limited its activities to the countries of capitalistic Europe.

If at the time of the IV Congress, the Profintern already stood solidly planted in China and was opening up a new continent of Latin-America for the development of a revolutionary trade union movement—today the Red Profintern is already a *world-wide* organization. The General Secretary of the Amsterdam International, one of the meanest and yellowest professional bureaucrats, Sassenbach, was, for instance, compelled to admit not long ago in an interview with a representative of the newspaper, "Social Demokraten" that "We (i.e. Amsterdam Center) have practically speaking no connections whatever with China because, due to internal disturbances, and *Bolshevik influence*, the ground is decidely unfavorable for it." In East India where at the time of the IV Congress of the Profintern the membership of revolutionary trade unions was being counted by hundreds, today there exists a mighty revolutionary trade union movement and the old bourgeois-reformist leaders have been thrown out of the leadership of the Trade Union Congress. A mighty revolutionary trade union movement is unfolding itself in Latin-America. Revolutionary trade unions are growing up in the United States.

And lastly in Europe itself there is growing up the revolutionary opposition within the reformistic trade unions ever stronger and more centralized.

All the tendencies that have been pointed out at the time of the IV Congress of the Profintern have *developed further*. We can see this first of all by comparing the two existing international centres of the trade union movement, the revolutionary Red Profintern, and the yellow social-fascist Amsterdam International. The process

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of *fascisation*, of *growing into* the monopoly capital and the fascist bourgeois state was even deeper (if that is possible) within the reformist trade unions than within the political organizations of the Second International.

In the lately published report of the activities of the Amsterdam International for the last 10 years the only achievements it boasts of is an endless list of memoranda addressed to the International Labor Buro at Geneva and the struggle against the "attempts of the Russians to squeeze into the trade union secretariat for the purpose of provoking splits." Still more important in this connection is, however, not so much as to what the report states as what it does not state. Very discreetly are hushed up the proceedings of the May Plenum of 1929, which ordered all sections of the Amsterdam International to *actively help along* in the carrying out of *capitalist rationalization*. Discreetly also is hushed up the warning issued by the English General Council calling upon the English workers not to help the striking textile workers of Bombay (India). Discreetly again is hushed up the trip of Zitrin, and Sassenbach to fascist Italy, a trip undertaken with the knowledge of the "left" Italian Amsterdam Emigres for the purpose of establishing close contact with fascist-syndicalists. Hushed up are also the as yet unsuccessful schemes of merging with the company-unionized American Federation of Labor and with the reactionary Pan-Asiatic Trade Union conference—as a kind of lightening rod against the rapidly growing revolutionary trade union movement in Latin-America and in the colonial East. Very characteristic for the fascization of the Amsterdam Trade Unions is the international congress of railroad workers that is to take place in Madrid the 30 of April of this year. It is well known that the international of the transport workers is headed by the most "militant," most "left" of the Amsterdam leaders—Mr. E. Fimmen. And here, at the very moment of an unusually sharpened danger of war and unheard of anti-Soviet baiting, this "fighter against Imperialism" and "friend of U.S.S.R." places for the working class the following "burning" questions in the very center of attention before the railroad workers of the entire world: competition with automobile transport; participation of labor and other transport employees in the profits and the problem of capitalist rationalization in transport (of course from the point of view of cooperating in carrying it out). This is a 100% *fascisation* program of the reformist trade union movement. To overlook the question of U.S.S.R., the open and brazen preparations for intervention, is in this case nothing less than a *thin covering* for a *most active preparation* of such intervention by the Right Wing of the International Social-Fascism. And yet the point of

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departure, the basic idea of all the liquidators and opportunists in the ranks of the Comintern and Profintern was always their orientation on the so-called "left" layers of the social bureaucracy and of the reformist trade union movement. The right opportunists never did perceive those social processes that have created new tactical problems for the revolutionary trade union vanguard. Any independent movement of the revolutionary trade union vanguard *without* and *outside* of the social-fascist trade union apparatus seemed to them as suicidal tactics of the Communists and revolutionary trade union vanguard. We remind ourselves of the IV Congress of the Profintern when the renegade Wailcher declared: "If only the Russian trade unions would declare their desire to be taken in by the Amsterdam International, that would accelerate the disintegration inside the Amsterdam camp and would have made our fight for the conquest of the masses so much easier."

Of course, *the least weakening* of effort on the part of revolutionaries towards the conquest of the masses within the reformist trade union would be a crime against the proletarian revolution. A thousand times right was Comrade Thaelmann when he said at the meeting of the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I., that to leave five million members of the A.D.G.B. and one and one-half million members of the Christian and of the Hirsh Dunkers Trade Unions to the mercy of their trade union bureaucracy "would be equivalent to betraying the proletarian revolution."

The revolutionary opposition not only does not reduce but on the contrary, must do its utmost to *increase* its work within the reformist trade unions because this work affects millions upon millions of organized workers. This is one of the most important sections of our elementary work in dragging up the organizationally still backward masses on the crest of the present day revolutionary upsurge.

At the same time not for a moment should the fact be left out of sight that in the process of a developing revolutionary situation the proletarian revolution will find it impossible to get along without the creation of independent revolutionary trade unions.

The Profintern was never merely the *ideological* center of the international revolutionary trade unions. Only direct agents of social fascism such as Weilcher, Brandler & Co. can talk about the "coming in" of the V.C.S.P.S. (All Russian Central Trade Unions) into the Amsterdam International. But the question is when, where and under what circumstances are the independent revolutionary trade unions to be organized. They can and ought to be organized only then and under such circumstances as to make sure of the

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adherence to the revolutionary vanguard of the *broadest masses of workers*. From this point of view the V Congress of the Profintern will prove to be an important milestone.

Of great significance is the political and organizational *preparatory work* for the Congress. This work must be based upon the most militant and fearless self-criticism within the separate national organizations. The preparatory work itself, the *popularization* of the Congress will have to be carried way *down* into the masses, the mills, the factories. Only such preparatory work will enable the V Congress of the Profintern to be representative of the objective conditions of the world-wide labor movement and map out for the *present stage* of it that particular line and those methods and forms of struggle that will assure to the Red Profintern the organizing and leading role within the world trade union movement during the period of decisive class fights.

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Toward Social-Fascism — The "Rejuvenation" of the Socialist Party

By A. B. MAGIL

(*Conclusion*)

III

In his concluding speech at the 15th session of the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Comrade Manuilsky said:

"Social-fascism is not the simple collaboration with capitalism of the old reformist type; the present social-fascism represents monopoly capitalism as its *very own regime*, as 'democratic socialism'."

Denied the power for which it lusts so ardently, the American Socialist Party nevertheless is not behind its brother social-fascist parties in confirming the truth of this statement. A striking example was its reaction to the formation of Hoover's "economic council," a semi-fascist preliminary step towards the supersession of parliamentary government by the direct rule of monopoly capital. While the liberal New York Telegram, which supported Hoover for president, asks (November 30), with the timid perturbation of the petty-bourgeois elements for whom it speaks: "Are we done with politics? Are our political forms and machinery a hollow shell handed down from an earlier type of society, like the feudal vestiges which were swept aside by the French Revolution?" no such alarms disturb the socalled Socialist Party. A step toward fascism? Mais non—a step toward Socialism!

Thus the Socialist messiah, Norman Thomas, writes in the New Leader of November 30:

"The first thing to observe is that the program is a thousand miles removed from the economic individualism which President Hoover lauded in his campaign. It is a recognition, so far as it goes, of the fact upon which we Socialists have incessantly pounded: that our interdependent world requires social control. To push public works in dull times has been a Socialist demand for more years than I can remember. The President here *is wisely moving along a road the Socialists long since pointed out.*" (Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

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"So far as it goes." Thomas complains that Hoover's program doesn't go far enough. The social-fascists would introduce fascism at one stroke.

To give this point of view an official stamp, Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the S. P., also announced that "President Hoover's move for prevention of unemployment by public works construction was a denial of 'rugged individualism' and a confirmation of the Socialist position." (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 27.)

And when Ramsay MacDonald, following in the footsteps of Wall Street's chief servant, also organized an "economic general staff" of leading capitalists—more secretly than Hoover since he had to camouflage this social-fascist treachery before the workers—the New Leader hailed this (December 14) under the rapturous headline: "British Staff Shows Power of Workers"!

The social-fascist tendencies in the American Socialist Party have been crystallized only partially thus far. But like the social-democracy of other countries the path of its development is clear: it "is evolving through social-imperialism to social-fascism." And the social-imperialism of the Socialist Party has of late become singularly "pure," open and shameless. Subjectively, consciously, deliberately, more and more discarding all artifice, the S.P. has become a staunch and consistent defender of imperialism. Norman Thomas hail the imperialist naval conference (*New Leader*, January 18) and he expresses his solidarity with the "labor" executioners of the Indian Revolution in the following sophistical words:

"National independence of various peoples in Europe and the Nationalist movement in China are very far from having brought plenty, peace and freedom to peoples released from the foreign yoke. In the proceedings of the Indian National Congress and in the divisions of India there is little hope that an Indian government independent of England would suddenly and automatically right the deepest of India's wrongs." (New Leader, January 4.)

But lest anyone think him partial to labor imperialism Thomas proves himself an even more hypocritical apologist for the bloody rapacities of Wall Street. On the revolt in Haiti he writes (New Leader, December 14):

"Doubtless our government can bring enough force to bear to quell or overawe the island, but that will be no solution. President Hoover's proposed commission may find one; *he does well to propose it and it should certainly be sent.* But it will do no good if like the Congressional Committee in the Harding administration it is a whitewashing affair anxious to justify imperialism instead of *substituting for it friendly help to a self-governing Haiti.*" (Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

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Norman Thomas wants to temper the imperialist wind to the shorn lamb of Haiti. This imperialist to the core, alarmed at the threat to Wall Street's rule in the revolt of the oppressed Haitian masses, wants to substitute for the brazen plundering of a supposedly independent country some camouflaged form of imperialist domination—"friendly help"—to keep the groaning Haitian masses in leash. Such "friendly help" perhaps as Wall Street gives to the terror government of Mexico or to the bloody Gomez-Perez dictatorship in Venezuela.

American social-imperialism has even produced a unique, if somewhat stupid, theoretician. He is none other than the former "socialist" municipal justice, Jacob Panken. This pretentious bourgeois lawyer and politician delivered himself of a lengthy article on "The League, British Labor and World Peace," in the New Leader of last October 5 in which he grovels in obscene depths of imperialist slime. He writes:

"The United States should be equally interested with the rest of the nations in continuing and maintaining peace. We are decidedly an economic power, the mightiest in the world. American commerce spans every ocean. American interests are in every clime; *our continued material security depends upon the maintenance of our economic position.*

"*War between us and England is unthinkable.* It would be so destructive that it would set civilization back hundreds of years. It is unthinkable because of the natural background. It would be the most inhuman of any of the wars in history." (Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

Having thus rehashed the New York Times without even bothering to season it with a dash of Nation liberalism, this fecund "socialist" oyster then proceeds to shed the following pearl of imperialist wisdom (printed in heavy-faced type to empharize its significance):

"We now have a stake in the world; almost eighteen billion dollars of American wealth is invested in foreign lands. That is entirely aside from the money due the United States by various governments. Friction, wars are a decided threat to the security of these investments. It would be foolhardy indeed to fan any difference into a blaze of war."

One might dismiss this as the gibberish of a colossal ignoramus that no third-rate bourgeois economist would take seriously were it not a consistent part of a blatant social-imperialism, a social-imperialism that forms the threshold to social-fascism.

In the same spirit is the panegyric to imperialism that appeared in the Jewish Daily Forward last Armistice Day:

"Economic conditions have in all countries of the world been

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tremendously improved. Starvation has everywhere disappeared. The masses are now everywhere living better than eleven years ago. Even in Soviet Russia, where, *thanks to the insane Communist politics, a serious economic crisis still reigns,* the situation today is not so hopeless as it was in November 1918. . .

"No one, *except perhaps the star-gazers of the Communist International,* any longer wants a war and no one has it in his power to drive nations into a new blood-bath." (Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

IV

There is a connecting link between the Socialist Party and the renegades from Communism, the followers of Cannon and Lovestone. This means there is a connecting link between social-fascism and the two renegade groups. The vehemence with which both Cannon and Lovestone attack the entire concept of social-fascism and deny that such a thing exists is an expression of this connecting link. Neither of the renegades is as far from the Muste group as he would like workers to believe. In words they would modify the characterization of the Musteites as fake progressives and the most dangerous enemies of the workingclass; in deeds they would unite with the Musteites against the working class, against the Communist Party.

In the early days of the textile struggles in the South last year Cannon advocated a united front with the leaders of the United Textile Workers. But history seems to take a diabolical joy in setting the fool's cap on such political muddleheads as Mr. Cannon. The United Textile Workers Union proceeded to vindicate Cannon's slogan by the betrayals of Elizabethton and Marion, betrayals that compare favorably with the worst American Federation of Labor treacheries. It took Cannon nearly a year to make the unique discovery (*Militant,* January 4) that the united front tactic must be applied from below, not from above.

The difference between Lovestone's attitude toward the Muste group and Cannon's, like so many "differences" between the two renegades, is a matter for metaphysicians to determine. The humble science of Marxism can find none on essential points.

Two other distinguished renegades from Communism are already in the Muste group—in fact, they helped found it. One is the notorious J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, whose attacks on the Communist Party and other left wing organizations rival in venom and mendacity the most inspired flights of Matthew Woll, Ralph Easley and other professional Red-baiters. The other renegade is

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the no less notorious Ludwig Lore, an incurable social-reformist and opportunist. Lore, who was, until the advent of Cannon, the chief American apostle of Trotsky, and, until the advent of Lovestone, the chief American apostle of Brandler, and who is at all times an apostle par excellence of opportunism—uniting in one person such infinite variety as age cannot wither nor custom stale—thinks quite correctly that the so-called rift between Lovestone and Cannon is a little silly and schoolboyish. Quite correctly he believes that all three are really brothers under the skin and should not let old-time quarrels stand in the way of a common union against the Communist Party and the Comintern.

"The three tendencies expelled from the C. P.", he writes, "are of one opinion on all important questions; in the main, they defend the same tactical and principal standpoint, though Cannon and Lovestone may attempt to deny their 'poor relation.' (Volkszeitung, November 23, 1929).

The connecting link with the S. P. (via Lore and Muste) is very clear indeed.

Both Cannon and Lovestone try to make it appear that the Comintern characterises "every form of violence used against the workingclass" as fascism or social-fascism. They abstract the element of violence from the formulation of fascism and social-fascism and argue that if the German social-democracy of today is strongly social-fascist, then so was the social-democracy of 1918-19 which also used violence to suppress the workingclass. This is a kind of pseudo-logic—actually bourgeois scholasticism—which has nothing in common with Marxism. The Marxist first of all seeks to establish the *specific class character* of every social phenomenon; its precise external form is of secondary consideration. To abstract the form from the essential class content is to throw overboard Marxian dialectics and to substitute for it the eclecticism of the bourgeois economists. The attempt to equalize social-democracy of today with the social-democracy of yesterday is no less absurd than it would be to equalize Mussolini with Thiers: Mussolini used organized class violence to suppress the workingclass; so did Thiers. Mussolini is a fascist; ergo, so was Thiers. By the same sort of stupid sophistry the bourgeois apologists of every stripe equalize the fascist dictatorship of Italy with the proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union.

The renegades refuse to see the profound structural changes that have taken place in social-democracy, resulting in "quantity becoming quality." Since the last imperialist war social-democracy has in all countries been incorporated in varying degrees, either directly or indirectly, into the capitalist state apparatus and its

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machinery of coercion. As a result it is playing an increasing aggressive role not merely in betraying the masses, but in suppressing them by measures which grow steadily more fascist as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the leftward swing of the workingclass intensifies. More and more does social-democracy depend for a social base on the petty-bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy and corrupted upper sections of the workingclass—a truly fascist base. And above all, social-democracy today, unlike social-democracy of yesterday, is actively participating in the preparations for a new imperialist war, helping to weld together the iron imperialist front against the Soviet Union.

Both the Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites, in their attack on the Comintern's analysis of fascism and social-fascism, resort to the shabby demagogic device of setting up dummy targets and then heroically shooting them down. The Comintern does not say that "the social-democracy and fascism are one" (Trotsky: "The Austrian Crisis and Communism," Militant, January 11). Nor did the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fail "to differentiate between the leading strata of the social-democracy (S.D.P. and trade union bureaucrats) on the one hand and the broad masses influenced by the social-democracy (masses in the Social-Democratic Parties and in the trade unions, etc.) on the other" (Will Herberg: "The Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.", Revolutionary Age No. 4, December 15).

Such statements are malicious distortions by enemies of Communism. It was made clear at the Tenth Plenum that the transformation of the social-democracy into social-fascism is still in its early stages, being furthest developed in Germany. Moreover, a distinction was drawn between social-fascism and fascism. And the Tenth Plenum also made a clear differentiation between the social-democratic apparatus and the social-democratic masses.

The article by Herberg, one of the leading "theoreticians" of the Lovestone group, is distinguished chiefly for the shameless political forgeries by which Lovestone-Herberg distorts the meaning of Tenth Plenum theses and speeches. Thus he quotes Comrade Manuilsky as saying in his report that "fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." What Comrade Manuilsky actually said is that "*in a number of highly developed capitalist countries* fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the *social* (not "the world"—A.B.M.) revolution" (Inprecorr, No. 53, p. 1137. Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

But in attacking the Tenth Plenum Lovestone is at a disadvantage that Cannon does not labor under. Cannon openly laughs at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern and its decisions, while

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poor Lovestone is compelled to play the pure and spotless knight defending the honor of the Sixth Congress against the "revisionist" line of the Tenth Plenum. This involves difficulties, but again Herberg is handy with his forgeries. To prove that the Sixth Congress said nothing about any relationship between social-democracy and fascism Herberg cites the following quotation from the Comintern Program adopted at the Sixth Congress:

"The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with the social-democracy according to the changes in the political situation."

Turning to page 23 (Workers Library Publishers edition) of the Comintern Program, one finds that Herberg has quoted it correctly. But—he has "neglected" to finish the sentence. The full sentence reads:

"The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with social-democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while *social-democracy itself plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism*" (Emphasis mine.—A.B.M.)

It is such unprincipled adulterations that form the theoretical basis for the fight of the renegades against the Party and the Comintern, a fight which they do not hesitate to carry into the revolutionary unions and the mass organizations. While they attack the concept of social-fascism, the renegades are actually giving all possible aid to the budding and more than budding social-fascists of the Socialist Party, the Muste group and the A. F. of L.

V

The fight against social-fascism in this country, as part of the struggle against all fascist tendencies, is a real fight springing from an actual, not an invented situation, and demands the utmost courage and militancy on the part of the workers. Increasingly the struggle against the social-fascist agents of the bosses on the economic field is transformed into a political struggle against the capitalist state in which the betrayers are even directly incorporated into the capitalist terror machinery (Illinois strike). To exaggerate the fascist and social-fascist tendencies in this country is to do more harm than good. To deny such tendencies is to deny the entire history of post-war capitalism and its faithful handmaiden, social-democracy; it is to capitulate before social-fascism and to blunt every phase of the workingclass struggle. It is to land inevitably with both feet in the swamp of opportunism. From this swamp united fronts with enemies of the workers is the logical path.

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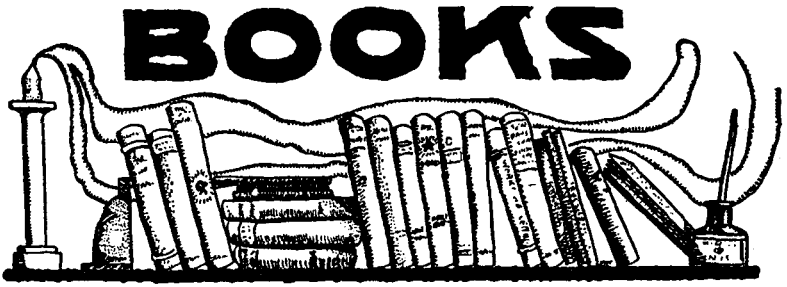

V. I. LENIN: *The Imperialist War. Collected Works, Vol.* XVIII. INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, New York. 1930. 496 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by A. LANDY

I

This volume is not a monolithic study of the imperialist war. In fact, it is not a "study" at all in the sense of an academic piece of post festum writing. It is history in the making. Chronologically, it covers the period from the end of June, 1914 to the end of December, 1915. It deals, therefore, only with the early years of the war. Nevertheless, it contains the basic principles and lessons which today have become part of the very foundation of every Communist Party in the world. Born out of the struggle against the most colossal betrayal in history, the documents, articles and lectures assembled here are an historical embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on war.

With the exception of a lengthy encyclopedia article which is included here for purely chronological reasons, the collapse of the Second International, the imperialist character of the war and the revolutionary struggle against both constitute the recurring theme of this volume.

The collapse of the Second International necessarily occupies a central position in Lenin's writings on the war. Years before its outbreak, the international socialist world had predicted and apparently prepared against the very war which it almost universally supported, once it arrived. It was not the war that constituted the chief tragedy of the working class, but the collapse of its organized might, the world-wide desertion of its opportunist leadership at the most crucial moment of its history. It was this collapse, and not the war in itself, therefore, that constituted the logical starting point of Lenin's attack. In holding aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism at a time when most of the leaders of the international proletariat had gone over to the camp of the enemy, it was impossible to combat the war without simultaneously combatting its most rabid social-chauvinist supporters.

Lenin's historic deed lay precisely in this struggle against the betrayal of the Second International. To have continued the policy of revolutionary Marxism, to have rallied the faithful revolutionary detachments around its banner amidst the universal collapse of Socialist opportunism was in itself of the most far-reaching historical significance. The direct fruit of this activity was the November Revolution and the organization of a world Communist Party, a mighty guarantee that the next imperialist war would not find the international proletariat so helpless as in 1914.

The publication of Lenin's volume has given the Party a basic manual on the question of imperialist war. True, it deals only with the last imperialist

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war. But aside from the fact that we are living in an epoch of imperialist wars and that the basic class features of all imperialist wars are identical, it is impossible to prepare against the new imperialist war which is now in the making without subjecting the last war to the most painstaking analysis. An understanding of the phenomena, the forms, characteristics and elements of the war of 1914 is a basic condition for an understanding of the concrete elements which we shall meet in the next imperialist war. Moreover, the principles of Marxian analysis in relation to war are fundamental to an intelligent, revolutionary attitude and to our revolutionary activity in general. For this purpose, Lenin's volume is absolutely indispensible. In fact, it is the revolutionary duty of the entire Party to subject his writings on the imperialist war to the most searching and detailed study with this end in view. We must not allow a single principle or a single lesson to escape us.

History has made giant strides since Lenin wrote the material constituting the present volume. All the forces and contradictions of world capitalism have developed far along their logical lines. Social-chauvinism has matured into social-fascism; the imperialist rivalries which the war only helped to reproduce on a more gigantic scale, are driving headlong towards a new predatory war. In addition, the existence of the Soviet Union and the construction of socialism has added to the antagonism between the imperialist robbers and the first workers' republic to the antagonisms between the predatory powers themselves.

The London Naval Conference is the direct expression of these antagonisms. Indeed, the conference itself has only sharpened these antagonisms and driven them closer to the breaking point. War shrieks from every one of its moves. The economic crisis has shaken the capitalist world to its foundations and only deepened the general crisis of capitalism.

In this situation, the task of deepening and extending the class consciousness and the class struggle of the workers, of raising them to a higher political level, cannot be separated from the task of educating and mobilizing the working class in defense of the Soviet Union and against the danger of a new imperialist war. In this task we can and must learn from Lenin.

II

In 1907 at Stuttgart and again in 1912 at Basle, the international Socialist movement warned the working class against the impending war and called upon it to "prevent the outbreak of the war by the means which they consider most "effective." "In case war should break out anyway," the Stuttgart resolution stated, "it is their duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule." In 1912 the International Socialist Congress at Basle reaffirmed these "guiding principles for the struggle against war" and reported that the danger of war had been tremendously aggravated. "The proletariat is conscious of being at this moment the bearer of the entire future of mankind," the Basle Resolution announced. "The proletariat will exert all its energy to prevent the annihilation of the flower of all peoples, threatened by all the horrors of mass murder, starvation, and pestilence. The Congress therefore appeals to you, proletarians and Socialists of all countries, to make your voices heard in this decisive hour!"

In two years the resolutions of Stuttgart and Basle were forgotten. The whole International was in ruins. On June 28, 1914 the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated at Sarajevo. A month later Austria declared war on Serbia. On July 29 the last meeting of the International

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Socialist Bureau at Brussels still issued an appeal to the workers calling on them to intensify their demonstrations for peace, and itself arranged a mass demonstration at Brussels for that purpose. The press still published the manifesto of the Socialist parties and the most important labor organizations of Germany, France, England, Italy, Belgium and other countries, appealing to the proletariat to demonstrate its will for peace. On July 30-31 protest meetings of the proletariat against the war were still held in all important industrial cities of Europe. But on August 1, Germany declared war on Russia. On August 2 Germany issued an ultimatum to Belgium and the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party directing the Socialist members of parliament to vote for "appropriations required for mobilization." On August 3 Germany declared war on France and the German Social-Democratic Reichstag group decided by 78 to 14 to vote for war appropriations. On August 4 Germany declared war on Belgium and England on Germany, while the German Social-Democrats in the Reichstag voted for war appropriations. During the month of August the war declarations were fired back and forth in rapid succession and social-chauvinism blossomed out in all its glory. The imperialist war was on full blast.

The outbreak of the war found Lenin in a little village in Galicia. On August 28 he was allowed to leave for Switzerland. When he arrived in Berne on September 5, he immediately wrote the theses formulating the tasks of revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European war which open the series of Lenin's writings on the war in this volume. From then on he became the directing force behind both the Bolshevik Party and the international revolutionary Marxists in the struggle against social-chauvinism and the war.

It is sufficient in this review to point out a few of the more general facts and conclusions established by Lenin without tracing the details of the volume. The chronology of events, the events in the life of Lenin and the explanatory notes which, together with a number of documents and biographical notes, comprise the appendix, will give the reader an adequate picture of what happened during the first two years of the war.

Marxism, Lenin said, distinguishes three epochs. The first epoch dates from 1789-1871 and is an epoch of bourgeois democratic and national movements. The second epoch dates from 1871-1914 and is an epoch of the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie; an epoch in which the progressive bourgeoisie is replaced by reactionary finance capital and the forces of the proletariat are organized on an international scale. The third epoch dates from 1914 on and is an epoch in which the bourgeoisie is placed in the same "position" as were the feudal lords in the first; an epoch of imperialism and imperialist convulsions, of proletarian revolutions and civil war. To identify the first and third epochs, as the social-chauvinists did, in order to justify their support of the imperialist war, to excuse this support on the ground that Marx and Engels supported the bourgeois wars of 1859, 1861, etc., is to fail to see that the social or class contents of the first and third epochs are entirely different. In the third epoch, dating from 1914 on, unlike the first epoch, we no longer have a struggle of the rising capitalist class for national liberation from the remnants of feudalism. On the contrary, it is a struggle of the most reactionary finance capital against the new social forces. The first epoch, furthermore, represents the *development* of the productive forces, whereas the third epoch signifies the hindrance of the productive forces. If the bourgeoisie was once a rising class, today it is a sinking, decaying, and

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reactionary class. The rising class is a different class today, that is, the proletariat.

To understand what happened in the summer of 1914, it is necessary to understand that the Second International, the International that collapsed in 1914, was the product of the second epoch. The second epoch, with its "all-pervading gradualness," said Lenin, "created a whole opportunist *line of policy* based on a definite social stratum inside of modern democracy, bound to the bourgeoisie of its own national "color" by numerous threads of common, economic, social and political interests, a line directly, openly, consciously, and systematically hostile to any idea of a "disruption of gradualness."

This epoch was a relatively "peaceful" epoch in the development of the labor movement. It "taught the working class to utilize such important means of struggle as parliamentarism and all legal possibilities, to create mass economic and political organizations, a widespread labor press, etc.; on the other hand, this epoch created a tendency to repudiate class struggle and to preach social peace, to repudiate the socialist revolution, to repudiate the very principle of illegal organizations, to recognize bourgeois patriotism, etc. Certain strata of the working class (the burocracy of the labor movement and the labor aristocracy which received crumbs of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their 'fatherland' on the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathizers within the Socialist Parties, have proven to be the main social support of these tendencies and the conductors of bourgeois influence into the proletariat."

This was the material basis for the development of Socialist opportunism. The Second International was eaten through with it. When the war came the effects of this opportunism was shown in the policy of the majority of the official social-democratic parties. Social-chauvinism or social-nationalism was not the result of spontaneous generation. It had its roots deep in the material conditions of Socialist development during the second epoch. "Social-nationalism," wrote Lenin, "has grown out of opportunism and it is the latter that gave it power. How could social-nationalism be born 'at once'? In the same fashion as a child is born 'at once' if nine months have elapsed after its conception. Every one of the numerous expressions of opportunism during the Second Epoch in all the European countries was a rivulet which now 'at once' flowed into a great, though very shallow (. . . muddy, dirty) social-nationalist river."

What were some of the specific features of opportunism within the Second International? "Defence of class collaboration; renunciation of the idea of a socialist revolution and of all revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; forgetfulness of the fact that the frontier of nationality and fatherland is changing in history; making a fetish of bourgeois legalism; abolition of the class point of view and the class struggle out of fear of repelling the 'broad masses of the population' (read: petty-bourgeoisie)—those are undoubtedly the ideological foundations of opportunism."

The decisions of the Stuttgart and Basle congresses required that the Socialists of the belligerent countries work towards the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war. They required that the denial of legality be answered by the establishment of illegal organizations. Instead, the majority of the official social-democratic parties voted for military appropriations and participated in the bourgeois cabinets, conducting a policy of civil peace. This defence of their "own" imperialist governments by

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the various sections of the Second International was a direct betrayal of Socialism. It was a betrayal of the working class in the name of Marxism.

How did Lenin analyze the relation of Socialism to the war? As a revolutionary Marxist, Lenin did not relinquish the class point of view of the proletariat. In reply to the social-chauvinists who raised the slogan of the defence of the fatherland, Lenin said: The fatherland question cannot be raised in the abstract without an analysis of the concrete historical character of the present war. In the first place, this is an imperialist war; that is, a war of the period of the most developed capitalism, a period of the *end* of capitalism. In the second place, the fact that the working class must first "establish itself within the boundaries of the nation," as the Communist Manifesto pointed out, is correct. But we cannot apply to the final stage of capitalism what was true in relation to budding capitalism. In the third place, the workers have no fatherland (this was before the establishment of the first workers' republic). Moreover, the whole swindle about "national war" is exposed by the proletariat in its slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war as suggested by the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. Furthermore, the war is no accident. A Marxist, who has not relinquished the class point of view, does not ask: Is it an offensive or a defensive war. Regardless of who seized the initiative, the question of interest to the proletariat is: What class interests are involved. In the present war, both groups of powers are imperialist robbers fighting to eliminate one another as rivals. War is merely a continuation of politics by other (that is, forcible) means. It is these antecedent "politics" or material conditions and not the immediate circumstances determining the specific moment of war that is of basic interest to the proletariat. Most important of all, however, is the fact which no revolutionary Marxist can forget, namely, that class antagonisms are not suddenly abolished by the war. And in reply to the opportunist betrayal of the social-chauvinists, Lenin formulated the only course open to a revolutionary socialist: "Propaganda of class struggle even in the midst of war is the duty of a socialist; work directed toward transforming the war of the peoples into a civil war is the only socialist work in the epoch of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nation. No 'peace at any price,' but raise the banner of civil war."

In raising the slogan of defence of the fatherland the social-chauvinsts had betrayed the class interests of the international proletariat. While leading the working class to slaughter one another in the interests of their respective bourgeoisie, they piously spoke of "forgiving and forgetting" after the war was over. A round table conference and the International would be restored! "To have an International," Lenin replied, "does not mean to sit around one table and to have hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions written by people who see genuine internationalism in German Socialists justifying the appeal of the German bourgeoisie to shoot at French workers, and in French Socialists justifying the appeal of the French bourgeoisie to shoot at German workers in the name of the 'defence of the fatherland'!!! Internationalism consists in coming together (first ideologically, then in due time also organizationally) of people who, in these grave days are capable of defending Socialist internationalism in practice, i. e., to gather their forces and "to be next in shooting" at the governments and the ruling classes of *one's own* 'fatherland.' This is not an easy task; it will require much preparation, great sacrifices; it will not fail to suffer defeats. But just because it is not an easy task, it must be done in company with those only who wish, who are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism."

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The collapse of the Second International was a fact. It was the historical product of the Second Epoch. The third epoch required a third international which would "draw a clear line of organizational demarcation between real Socialists and opportunists." "Overwhelmed by opportunism, the Second International has died," Lenin wrote. "Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of 'deserters' but also of opportunism! The Second International did its full share of useful preparatory work in the preliminary organization of the proletarian masses during the long 'peaceful' epoch of most cruel capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th centuries. The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of socialism."

At the beginning of the war, Lenin distinguished three currents in international socialism. First, the chauvinists who consistenly pursued a policy of opportunism; secondly, the consistent enemies of opportunism who, Lenin asserted, had already begun to make themselves heard in all countries and who were capable of carrying on revolutionary work leading to civil war; and thirdly, the confused and vacillating elements who were dragging in the wake of the opportunists; elements most harmful to the proletariat because of their hypocritical attempts to justify opporunism with the help of Marxism. Of these, Lenin maintained, only a part could be saved, but only on condition of a decisive break with the chauvinists. This was the first condition for the establishment of the Third International.

III

Lenin's activity represents the triumph of Marxism. No one has supplied a more deeply scientific analysis of the last imperialist war. Marxism demanded that the proletarian transform the imperialist war into a civil war. The course of history since 1914 has proven the profound correctness of this revolutionary position.

In the Second International, prior to the war, Russia was looked upon as an "abnormal" country and Lenin did not have a really "European" standing. But it was the Second International, devoured by opportunism, that collapsed. It was Lenin and the Bolshevik Party that fought against the betrayal of proletarian internationalism; it was Lenin and the Bolshevik Party that assumed the historic task deserted by the opportunist leaders of international socialism. It was the "abnormal Russians" who continued the class struggle even in the time of war and took up the task of organizing the international proletariat for the socialist revolution. The fact that the Bolsheviks systematically fought against opportunism and separated themselves organizationally from it was of the greatest importance for the world proletariat. With the imperialist war of 1914, a new, the third, epoch had begun. "Peaceful" organization had given way to civil war and armed struggle for power. The new conditions required a "new" Marxist party of the calibre of the Russian Bolshevik Party. Historically, the difference between the latter and the official social-democratic parties was essentially a difference of the second and third epochs mentioned above. It was Lenin, and not Kautsky, that represented the third epoch, the epoch of civil wars and proletarian revolutions.

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LUDWELL DENNY: AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN. Alfred Knopf, Publishers, $4.00.

Reviewed by N. SPARKS

The sub-title of this book is "A RECORD OF ECONOMIC WAR." Through every sphere of economy the author traces the clash between Britain and America and concludes that America has already won. Despite certain serious distortions which we shall discuss later and the falsity of the author's conclusions, this book is of the greatest value to every Communist. Here are recorded in abundant detail, and in a most readable and interesting style, the victories, defeats, and the present status of the contenders in the terrific battles for markets, for fields of investment, for sources of raw materials and for essential military industries—all the concrete realities which we are in the habit of summing up under the general term "Anglo-American conflict," and which are rushing us into a new world war.

"War between America and Britain is more probable than war between America and any other power. This does not mean (a liberal hates to commit himself too completely) that such a war is inevitable. *It does mean that the causes which have produced other wars, and specifically British wars, are active in virulent form in Anglo-American relations now.*"

Britain's supremacy was built upon early industrialization, upon coal, and upon colonial exploitation. She became the world's manufacturer, merchant, banker, and the chief bearer of the "white man's burden." Today she is being forced from all these positions. Her antiquated industries are incapable of being modernized and competing with American and European rationalized plants. Coal is giving place to oil and hydro-electric power. The pillars of the Empire are swaying before the revolutionary movements of the colonial masses. In foreign trade and banking Britain is losing to America.

A few quotations:

"Before the World War, America had 12 per cent of the world's export trade; Britain had 16 per cent. Today we have 16 per cent; she has 12 per cent."

"Britain's exports (adjusted to 1913 dollar values) in the period 1913-28 decreased 5 per cent, while ours increased 48 per cent . . . American exports are no longer predominantly foods and raw materials not competing with United Kingdom exports. In 1928 . . . manufactured goods amounted to more than 68 per cent of our exports."

In China, "Britain's share of China's foreign puchases in 1913 was 16.5 per cent compared with our 6.0 per cent; but in 1926, the British fell to 10.2 per cent, while ours rose to 16.4 per cent."

In Latin America, "Britain's share in total Latin-American imports fell from 1913-27 from 25 per cent to 16 per cent while—and chiefly because —ours rose from rose from 24 per cent to 38 per cent."

In the U. S. market, "Britain's share of total American purchases fell from 16.5 per cent pre-war to 8.5 per cent in 1928."

Since the war America has begun a real economic invasion of the British Empire. In Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, American trade has risen from 1913-27 and British trade has dropped.[1] Except

[1] Detailed figures are given by the author, but since a similar table was given in the April COMMUNIST, in Comrade Platt's article on the London Conference, we are not repeating them here.

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for Canada, Britain still holds a good majority of Empire trade, but it is losing ground. The Imperial Preference system which gives British goods an average of 9 per cent tariff advantage over American and other goods in the Dominion markets, has not been able to stop this loss. The ambitious British scheme of an "Empire Economic Union"[2] is intended to stop the industrialization of the Dominions and keep them as the hinterland for British industries. All other schemes for increasing Empire trade are also based upon the sacrifice of the economic interests and advantages of the Dominion bourgeoisie for the sake of the British, and are being met more and more in Dominion Parliaments by the question "What For?"

Canadian-American trade is greater than that between any other two countries in the world. The U. S. supplies 65 per cent of Canada's imports; Britain only 17 per cent. America takes 39 per cent of her exports, Britain 33 per cent. America holds over 10 per cent of Canada's total wealth, Britain only 7.4 per cent. "Britain's share of foreign capital invested in Canada has fallen during the last decade from 77 per cent to 39 per cent, while America's has increased from 17 per cent to 57 per cent." Canada is losing interest in the British Empire.

No lesser personages than President Hoover and the Prince of Wales have been pressed into service in the recent past in the struggle for markets—particularly in Latin America. In the present crisis, the shrinkage of the home market has made the question of foreign markets a life and death question for America, as it has always been for Britain. Spokesmen of American imperialism are coming out more and more with the statement that the present crisis is to be overcome by the forcible opening up of new foreign markets. It is just on this question that the clash with Britain is most immediate and direct, that the war fever can be most easily aroused, that the attempt will be made by the capitalists and their lackeys to turn the growing mass hatred directed against American capitalism into hatred of Britain.

With an unfavorable commodity trade balance, the profits from Britain's foreign investments [3] maintain her as a creditor nation. In this field, Britain still holds a good lead. She has twenty billion dollars invested abroad compared with America's 15.6 billion dollars (excluding nine billion dollars war debts). But America's figure is increasing at the rate of a billion dollars a year compared to Britain's rate of 650 million dollars.

Of America's total, over half has gone into an attempt to stabilize world capitalism—stabilizing foreign exchanges and supporting financial operations of foreign governments, bringing foreign countries more or less into the position of financial vassals of Wall Street. The system of financial "advisors" who "reorganize" the financial and business systems of the victim countries, and dictate their domestic and foreign policies as the price of a Wall Street loan—Dawes and Young in Germany, the American Commission in China, Morrow in Mexico and various advisors throughout Latin America—has spread far and wide, and the war debts hang like a load around the necks of the foreign powers.

"Thanks to her savings of a century and her long experience Britain has not yet been entirely unseated as world banker. But the United States grows more and more important as a creditor nation. Already the dollar exerts more influence on world exchanges than the pound. The London money

[2] This is a scheme intended to make the British Empire self-sufficient by keeping all imports and exports within the Empire.

[3] As well as a considerable income from shipping.

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rate, and thus British production and employment, is chained to Wall Street. It would appear only a question of a short time until the United States plunges far ahead of Britain in foreign loans and investments which determine financial world hegemony."

Since 1914 America has invested four and one-half billion dollars directly in foreign industries. General Motors owns the Vauxhall Company in England and has bought the Opel Company of Germany. It is negotiating for the Citroen Company of France. Ford has established plants in England and Ireland and is negotiating for properties throughout Europe. General Electric, headed by Young, has gained virtual control of the British electrical industry, partly controls the German General Electric, has large holdings in the Italian and French companies, and controls the public utilities of practically all of Latin America.

Neither America or Britain is self-suffcient in raw materials and the frantic struggle for sources of raw materials is both a cause, and again an effect, of the war preparations. America is much stronger in domestic resources. Britain is much stronger in resources controlled by it politically or commercially throughout the world, but would have a hard time securing these supplies in war time.

In the most important key industries the battle is sharpest. Britain has the bulk of the world's nickel in Ontario, but has been unable as yet to wrest control of this supply from the American International Nickel Company. America controls 78 per cent of the world's copper and the fight is just beginning. In tin and rubber, America is the chief consumer and Britain has practically a monopoly of the sources. Only in three places in the world does tin occur to a workable extent—Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and Bolivia. American capital is gradually penetrating the Bolivian mines.

The battle led by Hoover against the British rubber restrictions is still fresh in everyone's memory. Results to date are: tremendous increase in the use of reclaimed rubber; complete conversion of Liberia into a slave colony of Firestone; the blessings of capitalism similarly brought to the natives of a huge area of Brazil by Ford; development by the U. S. Rubber Company of its plantations in (British controlled) Dutch East Indies; and gigantic concentration of automobile-rubber-and-tire capital led by General Motors and by Ford. The British monopoly of rubber will soon be broken.

In chemicals, the fight centers around the raw materials for fertilizers, explosives, and poison gas—potash, nitrates, dyestuff intermediates, and dyes. "The tendency is towards two great world trusts, German Interessen Gemeinschaft versus British Imperial Chemical Industries, with American capital trying to increase its influence over both foreign rivals. This has brought about a division in American capital with the Morgan-Chase-General Motors group supporting the British I. C. I., and the Rockefeller-Ford group supporting the German I. G."

In aviation, America has a good lead. In shipping, with all its significance as a naval auxiliary and as a vital means of transport of supplies in war time, England is far ahead. But America is alredy hastening, through huge subsidies, to repair this weak spot in its armament.

In communication, Britain still holds a big share of her pre-war cable monopoly. But America has the radio. Through the Radio Corporation of America (based upon the General Electric) and the International Telephone and Telegraph, America has become a huge competitor throughout the world of the British communications services. Control of this field means not only communications, but propaganda (news services), and knowledge of the

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enemy's secrets. "This battle is the very heart of the political struggle between the British and American governments for empire."

Of course, the most titanic struggle of all, is for oil. The story of this struggle which has now flamed up afresh, at the present moment in India and in New York (as we can see by the Shell gasoline advertisements in the New York newspapers), has been told before—notably by the present author in his earlier book "We Fight for Oil." In the present work, he presents his earlier account condensed and brought up to date with new material. Britain controls 70 per cent of the world's known oil reserves. America is carrying on a most aggressive campaign to win a larger share. Britain is responding with the same tactics, while both sides repeat the dictum of Clemenceau in 1917: "Oil is as necessary as blood in the battles of tomorrow" —a saying which every worker would do well to remember.

In every sphere of economy, Britain and America are locked in conflict. In this book the author gives documentary evidence showing how each government is actively backing up with every means at its disposal, the moves of its own capitalists. This conflict is not diminishing. It is spreading and sharpening. It is only a matter of time until the governments will call on their armies, navies and air fleets, before they will attempt to mobilize the masses of toilers to drown themselves in blood for oil, for markets, for Wall Street.

Despite the excellence of the author's fact material, the general picture presented by the whole book is placed against a fundamentally false background. If one would judge by this book, the only place in the world where there is a crisis of capitalism is England. Denny is in complete agreement with the Lovestone theory of a thoroughly "healthy" American capitalism. Britain has internal contradictions and crises, but not America. This Anglo-American conflict is taking place, according to Denny's picture, in some abstract, timeless world of healthy vigorous capitalism. The failure to place this conflict against its proper background of the deep-going world crisis of capitalism, to show that this conflict is in itself one of the sharpest manifestations of this crisis, that this conflict is taking place in the final period of capitalism and is itself one of the forces rushing capitalism to its doom—the lack of this essential background more than anything else, gives an utterly unreal character to the picture and makes it the version of a petty-bourgeois liberal.

In addition, the Anglo-American conflict cannot be properly considered without even mentioning the equally titanic conflict maturing between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union—an equally important symptom of the general crisis of capitalism and one that has a profound influence upon the struggle between Britain and America. Yet Denny never even mentions the Soviet Union except as a passive participant in the struggle for oil.

Nor is this conflict between Britain and America taking place in a classless world. The class struggle throughout the world is reaching a new pitch of intensity. The workers and the colonial masses are putting so much dynamite under the imperialist systems of both contenders. That these errors are not just an omission, but a fatally wrong estimation of the background of the struggle is proved by Denny's picture of Germany:

"The net result of the war and the peace settlement, imposed by the victors to ruin Germany, has been to give her *new life and a future potentially the brightest in Europe.* (Our italics.) The British 'victory' has rid Germany of an archaic, oppressive, and insufficient political system. It has relieved her . . . from paying more than a larger part of war costs and debts. . . . Out of the ruins has risen a modernized industrial plant and

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organization better than any in Europe and incomparably better than Britain's. . . . Germany is regaining her world market, rebuilding her merchant marine, re-penetrating through cartels the industries of other countries."

Only a petty-bourgeois liberal could fail to see that the German industrial revival is a rebirth as a slave of the Dawes and Young Plans—that it has been effected as the result of the permanent driving down of the value of the labor power of the German workers, that the new German merchant marine, industries and cartels are possible only because the whole working class, the masses of the peasantry, and wide strata of the middle classes are kept permanently on the verge of starvation. Perhaps nowhere in the world is the existence of capitalism more precarious than in Germany. Yet Denny sees for capitalist Germany "a future potentially the brightest in Europe!"

In fact when we examine the actual viewpoint of this book we find that as far as its theory goes, it could serve as a veritable text book of Lovestoneism and similar capitalist apologetics. The picture of America put forward by Denny, the petty-bourgeois liberal, follows closely the line of Lovestone, the petty-bourgeois renegade.

Denny's picture is the quintessence of Exceptionalism. Here we have the "healthy rosy-cheeked American imperialism," the typical picture of bourgeois prosperity. Britain has severe internal contradictions—decreasing home and European markets, permanent crisis in such basic industries as coal, unemployment, a radicalized working class. America seems to have no internal contradictions. "(America's) basic conditions include . . . the best industrial equipment and the most modern technique; *the largest of home markets to absorb the output of mass production, a regulated supply of labor combining skill and docility and resulting in high productivity and a minimum of industrial strife.*" This sounds more like an advertisement of the chamber of commerce of a Southern mill town than a would-be description of things as they are.

Apparently Denny sees no such things as a crisis of over-production, a shrinkage in the home market due to rationalization, lower wages and mass unemployment. "American unemployment is a much less serious problem than is the British. . . . Our industrial unemployment today is largely *technological.*" (Exactly!) *"It exists, paradoxically, because of efficiency and prosperity and despite larger domestic and foreign markets."*[4] (Did not Lovestone talk about "a crisis of prosperity?") . . . "To a surprising degree, though far from completely of course, the U. S. is correcting this technological unemployment by creating new machine industries and stimulating new markets for them at home and abroad." Here we have the whole petty-bourgeois swindle. Let Denny and Lovestone tell that to the 7,000,000 unemployed!

Since Denny sees no internal contradictions, then why the Anglo-American conflict? The only answer he can have is to fall back on Lovestone's "America is rich and greedy and wants to be richer."

"Britain has industrial strife; America has industrial peace." "The relatively docile temper of American labor . . . is one of the chief assets of American capital." "Perhaps the best proof of the near-perfection of the spirit of American labor for the purposes of an unrestrained capitalist system, is its submission to legal injustices and physical violence without effective protest." This contemptuous slander of the American working class is in complete harmony with Lovestone's "No radicalization" and his disgraceful talk of a "decrepit American working class." Gastonia, Elizabethton, Marion,

[4] Our italics.

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the fiercely fought mine strikes, the million and a quarter workers who demonstrated on March Sixth under the leadership of the Communist Party—all these mean nothing to the petty-bourgeois liberals. They can see no radicalization.

It is clear that with this false, exceptionalist picture of America, the comparison of the British and American imperialist systems must suffer from serious distortions.

One more typical petty-bourgeois argument must be discussed—the result of the war. Denny says "The British say the war made us rich. That is not true. It is not true either directly or indirectly. . . . The Treasury Department estimates our war expenditures, exclusive of loans, at 35 billion dollars net. . . . In terms of purchasing power our national income fell from 34.4 billion dollars in 1913 to 31 billion dollars in 1928. There is no adequate measurement for the loss to us in the death and disability of the young men...."

This argument is hypocrisy of the first water. It is in such discussions about whether " 'We' lost" that the classless attitude of the liberal opens the door for the most vicious hypocrisy. Can Denny pretend that he does not understand that the 35 billion dollars "we" (the whole nation) lost, was spent in buying enormous quantities of war materials from "us" (the American capitalists and munition makers who made the war), enriching them beyond their wildest dreams? The national purchasing power fell. Does he not know that the war resulted in a terrific polarization of wealth so that with a lower national income, a comparatively small group on top became infinitely richer, while the great masses of workers and farmers were forced into a steadily worsening standard of living? "There is no adequate measurement for the loss to 'us' (not the war makers this time but the war victims) in the death and disability of the young men." This is a truly liberal defense of the American war makers.

However, this book itself has an objective role. We may recall the historic phrase, "Advertising American Imperialism." This book is probably one of many that will be written on both sides of the water. "There is no room in the contracting world for two conflicting empires as large and predatory as Britain and America. Either the supremacy of America will be recognized in peace, or that supremacy will be asserted in battles of blood. . . . We were Britain's colony once. She will be our colony before she is done, not in name but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world. Now better machines are giving America power over the world and Britain. . . . If Britain is foolish enough to fight us, she will go down more quickly, that is all. . . . What chance has Britain against America? Or what chance has the world?"

Even though the author affects to stand aloof from this saber-rattling, it is the proper music for the drama as seen through the eyes of the American bourgeoisie. It is the proper music for the title "America Conquers Britain."

But the author's conclusions are over-simple. Even though the general economic balance is on the side of America, it is not so sure that "America Conquers Britain." For there are other parties to the conflict. The battle is not only between America and Britain, but between America, Britain, the capitalist world, and the Soviet Union. The fight is not only American imperialism against British imperialism, but American, British, and world capitalism against the American, British, and world's workers and exploited under the leadership of the Communist International. And those who will be in a position to draw the balance of this conflict will be able to write a truer book, "The Communist International Conquers Capitalism."

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